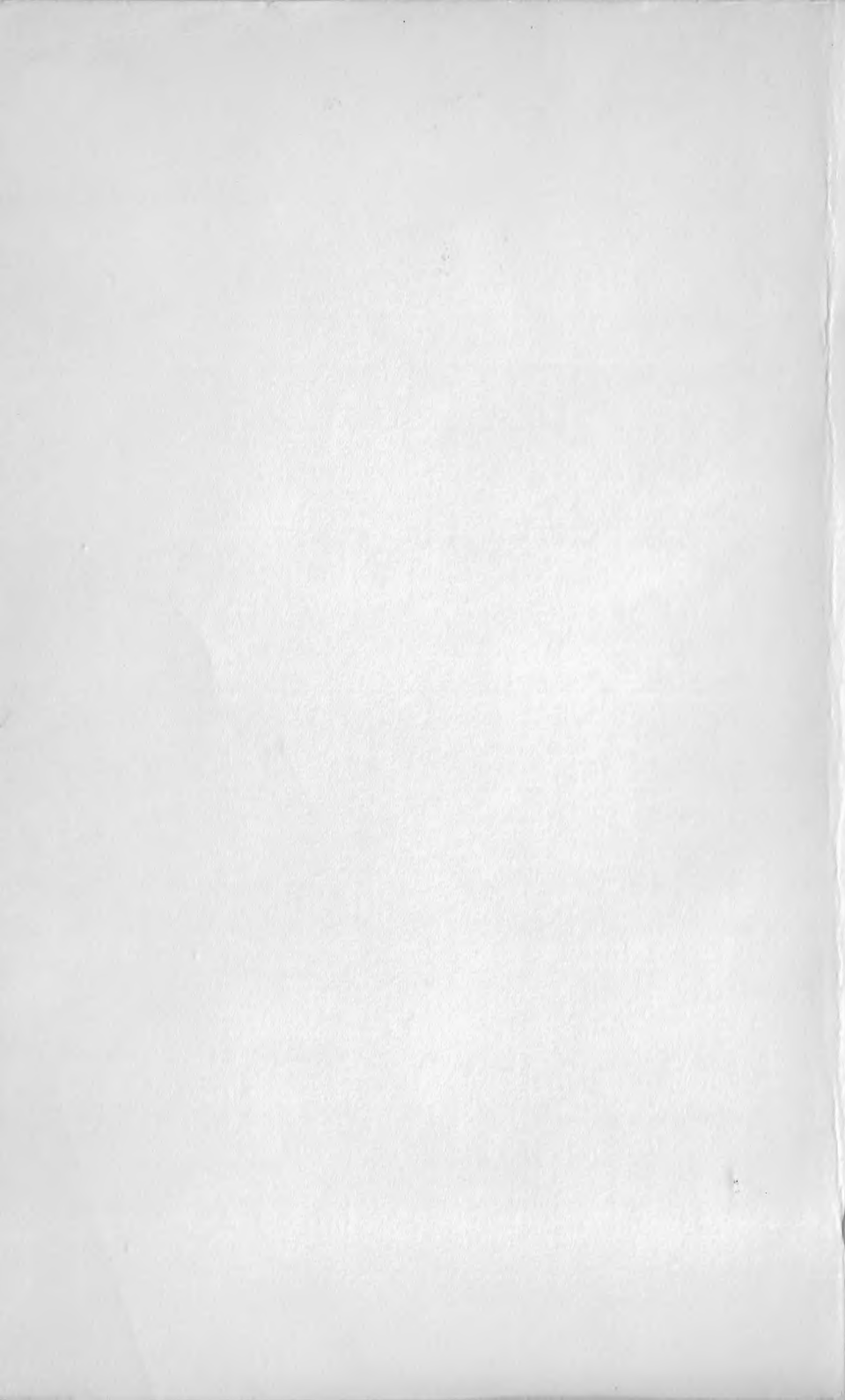


# **Learn from the Teachers by Negative Example**

by Charles Boylan

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**Edited by the Workers College Committee of the  
Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)  
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September 1975



## Introduction

### THEORY COMES OUT OF PRACTICE AND IN TURN SERVES PRACTICE

This pamphlet contains one main item, **Learn from the Teachers by Negative Example** by Charles Boylan, and various other documents and articles. The objective of producing all these items is:

1. To continue struggle against opportunism on the theoretical front and
2. To clarify various points of the history of the communist movement in Canada which are being mystified by the opportunists.

MREQ, in its yellow journalism, does not clarify why it came into being. In our letter to **En Lutte!**, we raised with them this important question of their origin. We wrote: "You have to deal with the fundamental questions regarding your founding, like **why did you come into being** and **on what basis**, etc. You do not explain! Our investigations and experience can explain why you came into being at that time, the reasons why you did not unite with us and why you formed your own group, etc. We have an explanation for these phenomena because we have undertaken analysis of the historical process and we have drawn definite conclusions from it. On the basis of this analysis, we came to a definite decision about your group. And we presented part of this analysis in a short article entitled, 'A Comment on the Pamphlet by Charles Gagnon', printed in **PCDN** on December 15, 1972. Gagnon's pamphlet completely misses the entire history of Canada and Quebec as well as the history of the international communist movement. It has 'nothing whatsoever to say about the historical struggle the working class has waged to build such a Party. He shuns historical materialism and dialectical materialism like the plague. He neither discusses the present historical stage in Quebec nor does he go into the process which gave rise to such a stage. Reality, for him, is a matter of "debates" and not a matter of scientific analysis.' (**Mass Line** No. 55) This comment is applicable to all the opportunists. We are reproducing some of the documents issued in the past in order to shed light on these groups and individuals as to their past and as to why they are engaging in opportunist activities at this time.

We must pay attention to the basic Marxist theory of knowledge and its fundamental law that **theory lags behind practice**. It is extremely important to grasp this fact. Certain opportunists used to accuse us that we **always theorise after practice**. They were wrong even on this question. By saying that we **always theorise after practice**, they belittle the significance of revolutionary theory and the necessity of revolutionary practice. What do we mean when we say **theory lags behind practice**? By this we do not mean that there was no theory at the beginning of practice and that once theory is summed up from practice that it does not guide practice. On the contrary, the Marxist theory of reflection boldly points out that **theory comes out of practice and in turn serves practice**. Chairman Mao Tsetung teaches: "This dialectical-materialist theory of the process of development of knowledge, basing itself on practice and proceeding from the shallower to the deeper, was never worked out by anybody before the rise of Marxism. Marxist materialism solved this problem correctly for the first time, pointing out both materialistically and dialectically the deepening movement for cognition, the movement by which man in society progresses from perceptual knowledge to logical knowledge in his complex, constantly recurring practice of production and class struggle. Lenin said, "The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstraction of value, etc., in short, all scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly and completely." Marxism-Leninism holds that each of the two stages in the process of cognition has its own characteristics, with knowledge manifesting itself as perceptual at the lower stage and logical at the higher stage, but that both are stages in an integrated process of cognition. The perceptual and the rational are qualitatively different, but are not divorced from each other; they are unified on the basis of practice. Our practice proves that what is perceived cannot at once be comprehended and that only what is comprehended can be more deeply perceived. Perception only solves the problem of phenomena; theory alone can solve the problem of essence. The solving of both these problems is not separable in the slightest degree from practice. Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practicing) in its environment.... If you want to know a certain thing or a certain class of things directly, you must personally participate in the practical struggle to change reality, to change that thing or class of things, for only thus can you come into contact with them as phenomena; only through personal participation in the practical struggle to change reality can you uncover the essence of that thing or class of things and comprehend them. This is the path to knowledge which every man travels, though some people, deliberately distorting matters,



argue to the contrary. The most ridiculous person in the world is the 'know-all' who picks up a smattering of hearsay knowledge, and proclaims himself 'the world's Number One authority'; this merely shows that he has not taken a proper measure of himself. Knowledge is a matter of science, and no dishonesty or conceit whatsoever is permissible. What is required is definitely the reverse — honesty and modesty... If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution. All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience. But one cannot have direct experience of everything; as a matter of fact, most of our knowledge comes from indirect experience, for example, all knowledge from past times and foreign lands. To our ancestors and foreigners, such knowledge was — or is — a matter of direct experience, and this knowledge is reliable if in the course of direct experience the requirement of "scientific abstraction", spoken of by Lenin, was — or is — fulfilled and objective reality scientifically reflected; otherwise it is not reliable. Hence a man's knowledge consists only of two parts, that which comes from direct experience and that which comes from indirect experience. Moreover, what is indirect experience for me is direct experience for other people. Consequently, considered as a whole, knowledge of any kind is inseparable from direct experience. All knowledge originates in perception of the objective external world through man's physical sense organs. Anyone who denies such perception, denies direct experience, or denies personal participation in the practice that changes reality, is not a materialist. That is why the "know-all" is ridiculous." (On Practice, Selected Works, Vol I)

This lengthy quotation from Chairman Mao amply explains that theory comes out of practice and in turn serves practice. MREQ and other opportunists first participated in splitting and wrecking activities. They have presently theorised from this splitting and wrecking and have come out with their theoretical base for this period.

The article by Comrade Charles describes the absolutely reactionary style of work of all the opportunists. Our comrades should learn from this article. Comrade Charles has written this article under the direction and supervision of the Workers' College Committee of CPC(M-L) and it is a positive contribution to the growing struggle against opportunism. Our comrades must understand that when certain individuals and groups behave in a certain manner, there are always reasons behind it. The absolutely reactionary style of the opportunists has behind them imperialism and social-imperialism. Imperialist and social-imperialist scribblers infiltrate and organise the opportunist groups in order to split, divide and disintegrate the communist movement. Local areas should write similar articles explaining their experiences with the opportunist groups and how

they divide, split and disintegrate the communist movement.

The outlook and method of chieftains of opportunism has the following content:

1. They deny the historical experience of the masses.
2. They deny the role of the masses in changing history.
3. They put detail in command of the over-all and
4. Use differences to divide, split and disintegrate the communist movement.

All the articles written against us by the opportunists reflect this outlook and method. Furthermore, the chieftains of opportunism do not clarify as to,

1. What is the basis of change, development and motion.
2. What is the role of consciousness in the historical process and
3. What is the relationship between superstructure and economic base.

All their articles are based on the DEVIL THEORY, like the imperialists and social-imperialists, who cannot explain the natural and social phenomena according to "its own laws". So, they give rise to some external force, some devil, the existence of which is supposed for the purposes of "proving" their metaphysics and mystify the basis, origin, development and maturing of the contradictions inherent in a social system.

Take for example all the articles written by opportunists attacking the Party. They do not clarify the basis, origin, developing and maturing of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism. They neither go into the history of the two-line struggle nor explain how the two-line struggle is being waged at this time. What are the contrary views? They appeal to the worst philistines on the basis of DEVIL THEORY. CPC(M-L), one-sidedly developed into what it is today and the opportunists, one-sidedly organise to wipe it out. But we ask: what is the basis of change, development and motion? In other words, what are the two lines today in the communist movement of Canada? They do not explain.

More specifically, MREQ, in its attacks on CPC(M-L) totally obscures the fact that some of their founders used to be actually supporters of the Party. They further mystify the two-line struggle which erupted in the summer of 1971 that led to the opportunist elements splitting and causing splits within the mass organisations. They are not clarifiers. They are not clarifiers because they deviously wish to hide their splittist and wrecking activities. Theory lags behind practice. This is the law of Marxism. MREQ has its origins in the split engineered by various communalist and Nazi elements in Montreal in the summer of 1971. These elements first took over the Party bookstore on Amherst Street, then issued an illegal document in the name of the Party in Quebec, then established various organisations, split or



took over various already existing organisations. MRO was one of the creatures of the split. MREQ was one of the creatures of this split. MPIQ was taken over and later liquidated. AALAPSM was split. Indian and Iranian groups were split. MREQ does not explain its own basis, origin, development and maturing because it is extremely afraid of the truth. So it comes onto the scene in the most sophisticated and frenzied manner hoping that their class brothers in the petty bourgeoisie and lumpen proletariat will assist them to escape extinction.

We are reproducing thirteen documents and articles to clarify the history. These are as follows:

1. Letter from Progressive Workers Movement to the Canadian Student Movement, dated December 17, 1968 — p. 64
2. Statement issued by the Canadian Internationalists (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement) on February 2, 1969 in Vancouver. Concerning the Organisation of Marxist-Leninist Movement in British Columbia and the attitude towards building a genuinely Marxist-Leninist Party in Canada — p. 64
3. The following is the Progressive Workers Movement's position on our relationship to the struggle to build a Marxist-Leninist Party in Canada — p. 67
4. PWM letter to North American Conference of Anti-Imperialist Youth — p. 68

These four documents are reproduced in this pamphlet to show that there existed a definite relationship between Canadian Internationalists and PWM and that Jack Scott in his remarks in the yellow journalism totally mystifies this. It should also be noticed that the documents are a definite proof that a principled relationship existed between the two organisations until the time PWM was faced with the task of leading the surging communist movement during this period. PWM, instead of leading this communist movement becomes a road block and takes up a position in the posterior of the communist movement and gets buried there.

5. Speech by Comrade Maley — p. 70
6. Text of a Talk by Brian Sproule — p. 79
7. Transcript of a Report given by D.J. O'Donnel — p. 87

These three speeches were given by Maley, Sproule and O'Donnel to the Third Consultative Conference of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) held in Montreal during the month of May in 1974, clearly explain the role of PWM and Jack Scott during the period of 1968-1970, the preparatory period which led to the founding of CPC(M-L) and also the period which led to the liquidation of PWM. The three comrades have direct experience with PWM and Jack Scott and are an excellent

resource to understanding the reasons for the liquidation of PWM and the role of Jack Scott in it. These comrades also elaborate on the unprincipled wrecking activities of Jack Scott and his hostility towards Stalin and Mao Tsetung Thought.

**8. Uphold Revolutionary Principles, Build the Unity of the People — p. 90.** This document issued by the Quebec Communist Party (M-L), Quebec branch of CPC(M-L) clearly explains the disruption and split caused by the opportunists in Montreal as part of Operation Chaos of CIA in the summer of 1971. MREQ is the illegitimate child of this Operation Chaos. But MREQ falsifies history in order to cover its foot marks and mystifies the fact it came out of this split in 1971 and that because of this splitting and wrecking in 1971, its foundation in 1972 and its activities since then has been one of wrecking and splitting the progressive organisations and mass movement. This article clearly explains the struggle between the two lines which resulted in the formation of opportunist organisations like MREQ and the resolute opposition that resulted to these opportunist organisations from CPC(M-L) and other Marxist-Leninist organisations.

**9. Down With The 'Left'-Sloganeering Front of Khrushchevite Revisionism! —101** This article clarifies the struggle which took place between the opportunists and Marxist-Leninists in 1971-72 and explains fully the historical origins of the sister organisation of MREQ called Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Committee in Montreal.

**10. From Montreal, Sunday, November 7, 1971 —117.** This is part of a letter sent by I. Behesti, an Iranian and an active member of Operation Chaos in Montreal in 1971-72, sent to another Iranian in Vancouver explaining quite candidly the conspiracy which was hatched to split and wreck the Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Movement. Abbreviation AA stands for Afro-Asians. This letter clearly reflects the style and method of these splitters. The readers will note that all the policies attributed to CPC(M-L) are something CPC(M-L) may do in the future and these are the "reasons" given for splitting and wrecking. As item 9 shows, behind this splitting and wrecking is revisionist political line and the opportunists can only advance through splitting and wrecking activities.

**11. Decision of the Third Plenum Number 22 — p. 118; Decision of the Third Plenum Number 13 — p. 121; Decision Number 15 — p. 122.**

These decisions from the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) held in Vancouver in March, 1972 clearly explain what relationship CPC(M-L) has with Jack Scott and what relationship the Presidium and Consultative Conference has with the Party. Decision 22 was handed over to Jack Scott right after the Plenum. What Jack Scott says in yellow journalism of MREQ completely proves that



he is a trickster and a double-dealer.

**12. Lies, Slanders and Character Assassinations Won't Change the Course of History** —p.124. This is a commentary on a poison pen letter circulated by police to slander Hardial Bains. (the poison pen letter is reproduced on the same page) It has come to the knowledge of the Party since, that Jack Scott has been notorious for writing such letters. With what he says in MREQ yellow journalism, it is proven beyond doubt that Jack Scott has a lot to do with this nefarious activity. Readers will note that while the Party brings out principled differences, these splitters and wreckers enter into gutter politics.

**13. A Study Of "How Engels Criticised Duhring's Apriorism"** —p.127. This article criticises and repudiates the lines of Jack Scott on various key questions in a principled manner.



## LEARN FROM THE TEACHERS BY NEGATIVE EXAMPLE

In the past few months a number of organisations have attacked CPC(M-L), denounced it for being “counter-revolutionary”, and called for “revolutionaries” to isolate the Party. Chief among them is Jack Scott who writes in a pamphlet published by the Mouvement révolutionnaire des étudiants du Québec that CPC(M-L) wanted to use him as a “passport to China” and other slanderous nonsense. The organisation which printed Scott’s concoctions says in the same pamphlet, “CPC(ml)’s line is nothing but an insidious witches’ brew of opportunism and (it) is a fundamentally counter-revolutionary organization...a group which has denigrated and slandered the image of communism in the eyes of the masses, misled struggles, ruined the lives of many potentially good militants, and generally acted as splitters and wreckers of the mass and vanguard movements. ... Thus, CPC(ml) must be strenuously exposed, attacked and denounced all along the line... This is not a struggle between MREQ and CPC(ml), but between the latter and the whole revolutionary movement.” (“Impotent Shrills of an Organisation Called MREQ”, **Mass Line**, Vol. 6 & 7, No. 56, Section 2, p. 2)

MREQ is joined by another French-language paper, **En Lutte!** In a recent issue they say: “it is not enough to stay away from CPC(ML) and to occasionally throw darts at it...it is necessary to expose and denounce it... The so-called CPC(ML) is nothing but a well-organised detachment of the bourgeoisie within the Marxist-Leninist movement. It is the principal representative of one of the most subtle and most pernicious forms of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries — that of neo-revisionism, younger brother of modern revisionism. It is therefore part of the counter-revolutionary camp. Between it and the genuine Marxist-Leninist movement; the contradiction is antagonistic. It must also be combatted as an enemy of the Canadian proletariat and people.” (“Opportunist Machinations of a Newspaper Named En Lutte!”, **Mass Line**, Vol. 6 & 7, No. 56, Section 2, p. 25)

A third man, Dave Paterson, from Toronto, who supports the two in Montreal and whose mutual friend and supporter is Jack Scott and his circle in Vancouver, also launched an attack on CPC(M-L).

The following is an example:

"CPC(M-L) must be recognised as thoroughly opportunist, incapable of leading the working class and progressive forward to socialism. To unite with these opportunists on the basis they propose is to sink with them to their own level of opportunism.... (...)

"Many of the rank and file members and 'supporters' of CPC(M-L) are honest and sincere fighters for the Canadian revolution. But until that party is reduced to ashes, until its thoroughly opportunist line is defeated, and until its leaders are banished and stripped of any thread of legitimacy, their energies will be dissipated, their dedication wasted, their political development retarded, and the struggle for a socialist Canada held back." ("Ravings of a Man Named Dave Paterson", **Mass Line**, Vol. 6 & 7, No. 56, Section 2, p. 22. ...

These kinds of attacks against the Party are not new. The revisionist party, the "Communist" Party of Canada, in March 7, 1973 issue of the **Canadian Tribune**, carried an article by William Stewart headlined: "Canadian Maoists — agents of imperialism." This article attacked the comrades of CPC(M-L) as being "home-bred Maoists" who are "open agents of state-monopoly capitalism essentially counter-revolutionaries designed to perform the same counter-revolutionary splitting role in the working class and democratic movements as the Trotskyites have for many years." He concludes his article with the same call as the present day opportunists: "how much damage will they do in their shameful splitting anti-working class activities? To assure this damage is minimized requires a stepped-up exposure in the working class and democratic movements of the anti-Soviet, anti-unity, anti-Marxist, divisive line and tactics of the Canadian Maoists, to isolate them from these bodies." (**Canadian Tribune**, March 7, 1973)

In November 1971, a group of Afro-Asians split from the Party and did as much gossiping and slander mongering as they could to discredit the Party, and in this vain manner tried to isolate the Party from the masses. Before this group, another bunch under the leadership of an Iranian split the Afro-Asians on the issue of supporting Soviet social-imperialism.

In 1969 Jack Scott slandered the Canadian Communist Movement (M-L) and publicly denounced them, singling out Comrade Bains for special attack: "We feel, therefore, that in practice the CCM is making a negative contribution in the struggle for socialism and in helping the Canadian people to accept Marxism-Leninism. ...It is on Hardial Bains, by far the dominant figure in the CCM, that the blame must fall for the fostering of this style of work." (**BC Newsletter**, No. 5, Dec. 1969).

Earlier that year Jack Scott and his few remaining members of Progres-



sive Workers Movement (PWM), four or five students who had originally split from the Internationalists, organised a student group to oppose the Vancouver Student Movement. Their group, Campus Left Action Movement (CLAM), liquidated itself a year later, as did PWM.

In June 1967 those who later joined Scott and floated CLAM, had themselves split from the Internationalists because they refused to come under the discipline of that organisation and had floated "New Group" with old anti-communist fervour in the fall of that year. In fact Jack Scott and the Progressive Workers Movement continuously tried to split the Internationalists. They were joined in this activity by the modern revisionists themselves. In 1965 Nigel Morgan, B.C. provincial secretary of the "Communist" Party of Canada, pronounced to his party cadre at the UBC campus that Hardial Bains was a CIA agent!

Thus these present attacks on CPC(M-L) by Jack Scott and various opportunist groups in Canada are not new. They are as old as the Internationalists, and as old as my acquaintance with Comrade Bains. That is why, although I have no leading position in the Party, and have been only a candidate for membership in the Party since I applied to join on September 11, 1973, I asked the Party to let me make some initial comments on these teachers by negative example.

Opportunism is no stranger to me. All my life I have learnt from teachers by negative example. Chairman Mao Tsetung wisely teaches: **"The Chinese revolution would not have been victorious if there had been only positive teachers and no teachers by negative example. Those who belittle the role of teachers by negative example are not thorough-going dialectical materialists."** This profound statement by Chairman Mao is universally applicable.

I met Comrade Bains at the University of British Columbia in 1963. I always admired his work, and spoke highly of it as a contribution to revolutionary politics in Canada even though I was frequently denounced by my former comrades in the revisionist party, and by various friends and political circles. I regarded Comrade Bains as a teacher by positive example since our days together at UBC campus. But I would never have advanced to join the Party and worked for proletarian revolution if I had not learned some painful and profound lessons from teachers by negative example. I know a lot of teachers by negative example in Canada. In fact I estimate that I know almost every teacher by negative example in the revolutionary and communist movement in Canada, quite a few from the U.S., a few from Europe and even one or two from Australia. Bear in mind I've never left the country except to go to the U.S. once or twice. They have all been teachers by negative exam-

ple, and whatever progress I have made I owe to them, and I deeply express my gratitude and thanks to each of them. Without actually having sought their leadership, without having actually followed their leadership, I would never have known such charlatans and base characters could possibly exist, all under the signboard of being "communists", "Marxists", "progressives". If someone had tried to tell me about the nature of such characters, I would never have believed them. One must actually have direct experience with such types to know what these monsters are like and how they operate.

I therefore write this as a soldier of the Party and based on my own experience with teachers by negative example. I am convinced this experience and the general experience of the international communist movement with the negative line constitutes strong proof as to the validity of my conclusions and of the Party's line. I know from my own experience and primarily from that of the international movement that such slanders and gossips as are being promoted at the present time by the opportunists can only assist the straight-forward anti-communists, including the agents of Soviet social-imperialism, as well as the state apparatus.

I grew up in a workers' family in Vancouver, B.C. during the 1950's and 1960's. My parents were both active members of the "Communist" Party of Canada, and had been militant activists in both the communist and trade union movement in the United States and Canada since the 1930's. I myself joined the "Communist" Party youth section, then called the Socialist Youth League, when I was fourteen, and attended the convention of the League in 1960 when it renamed itself the Young "Communist" League. In 1960 I began my studies at the University of British Columbia, and joined the "Communist" Party of Canada UBC Student Club when I was 17. The following year I became the spokesman for the club and remained so until I left UBC in the summer of 1967 for Toronto to become the editor of **Scan**, the revisionist youth magazine.

In addition to being party spokesman at UBC, I had been a member of the BC youth commission of the party, elected to its provincial committee, and elected as a member of the Central Committee in May 1966, as well as its Central Youth Commission. In December 1968 I, together with a number of others in Vancouver led by the Vancouver City Secretary of the party, left the party to oppose the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the CPC's support for the Soviet social-imperialists, and for a number of other reasons having to do with the CPC's political line. After we failed to organise this group into any sort of political organisation, I became a teacher in Prince George, returned to Van-

couver a year later, took up activism with various groups mainly around a newspaper, **New Leaf**, and some of the leaders of the present paper, **Western Voice**, and various trade union personalities. Between 1971 and 1973 I taught at a community college in Edmonton and formed an alliance with some friends of Jack Scott and ex-revisionists to organise a "Marxist" study group. As well I participated in general left politics, including some experience with Waffle in the NDP. When I returned to Vancouver I lived in a New Left commune and learned another thing or two. In September 1973 I applied to join CPC(M-L), and have participated in various political activities with the Party since then. This experience has been opposite from my former experience with the various teachers by negative example, all of which has confirmed my view of Comrade Bains as a teacher by positive example who is making a good contribution to revolution in Canada.

It took me a long time to correlate that my own outlook, as well as that of our family, had not been communist, but rather, that our method, style and political line had been moulded by the modern revisionists who had seized control of the "Communist" Party of Canada and had turned it into an instrument for advancing their personal fortune; i.e., had converted a revolutionary party into a capitalist party, and introduced capitalist social relations as the norm within the party itself.

While I was the spokesman for the revisionists at UBC I enthusiastically upheld the revisionist methods and norms of social relations, and implemented the revisionist political line. Their political line can be summed up in two slogans: "BE A GOOD BOURGEOIS STUDENT AND GET A CAREER", and "STAND ON THE SIDELINES, REVEL IN YOUR PRIVILEGED POSITION AS A COMMUNIST, AND BE AS IRRELEVANT AS POSSIBLE TO THE MASSES OF STUDENTS." In short practice so-called "revolutionary" politics, and live in and through the imperialist culture. For several years as an agent of the revisionists I regularly denounced students for being bourgeois, and always lectured them very self-righteously about how the working class was going to bring about socialism, how I had come from a working class and communist family and so on. On many occasions the revisionists used me to mobilise the students and to march on workers' picket lines, and for their "ban the bomb" pacifist demonstrations. Thus within a short time, despite the ultra-leftist verbiage I engaged in, my fellow students soon came to know me as the "nice, i.e. liberal, communist." This was the leading aspect of my role on UBC campus; that is, I was in the main the agent or embodiment of the revisionist method and style of work, "left" and "revolutionary" in name, but rightist in political practise.

In February 1963, in my capacity as the "communist on campus", I attended the Academic Symposium at Parksville on Vancouver Island. This was a prestigious event at UBC intended by the bourgeoisie to show its academic excellence, and its democratic nature. In fact it was an elitist forum for the bourgeoisie to carry on their ideological and cultural aggression against the youth in the interests of U.S. imperialism which was then expanding very rapidly into B.C. and the rest of Canada.

On my way to the Academic Symposium in February 1963, an Indian student named Hardial Bains introduced himself to me, and we had a long political discussion. I remember the discussion well because I had heard from student circles that Hardial Bains was progressive, and I was a bit shocked when he strongly opposed Khrushchov and the political line of the Soviet Union. I naturally rebuked him for attacking the socialist motherland, and said no one could be progressive if they were anti-Soviet. He persisted in arguing against Khrushchov's political line, and upheld the position of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao. I was even more surprised by his position in support of China, and his warning if I followed Khrushchov's line I would come to no good end, because the Indian invasion of China had just occurred, and I knew that the Communist Party of India supported the Indian government and opposed China as being "communist imperialism." So naturally I upheld this line which Comrade Bains quite vigorously opposed. But at no time did he denounce me, excommunicate me for being a revisionist, or anything of the sort. Thus began a long association with Comrade Bains, first on UBC campus, then off and on between 1965 and 1973 and finally in the past two years as a militant supporter of CPC(M-L) which Comrade Bains leads. During this whole period when I went through many stages of development, Comrade Bains on the one hand consistently opposed my political line and ideological stance as a modern revisionist, and on the other hand united with me to oppose outright reactionaries.

A month after we met, Comrade Bains led a number of students in organising the Internationalists at UBC. No one who was a student at UBC in that period can ignore the impact the Internationalists had on campus; the whole atmosphere changed, and left politics greatly advanced. The key to that advance was the implementation of a political line that what was needed in those concrete historical circumstances — a discussion group, some forum that could break the monopoly of ideas which the reactionaries, with the active collusion of the revisionists, had imposed on the campus. All the "leftists" including myself wanted activism but no serious discussion of ideas. The discussion group was the key link, and by



grasping this link, the whole political and cultural situation on campus changed, advanced a step to a higher stage.

No one in the 1960's who was active anywhere on campus across Canada had any doubt that Vancouver, more specifically, UBC, was where the action was. The new left across Canada had made a myth about Vancouver and UBC because it was the centre of political activism as well as a centre of ideological life, vitality, freshness. There was an atmosphere on campus that had as its first principle, unity of the students and faculty against the cultural aggression of U.S. imperialism.

I remember an incident at UBC in this period with a deep, burning sense of shame. The Internationalists had organised a very big fall symposium in 1964; the whole activist core of students and faculty were invited and Comrade Bains had organised that I should be on the panel of speakers. The topic was "Individualism and Collectivism", and at the heart of this topic raged class war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between bourgeois metaphysics and idealism and dialectical and historical materialism. Needless to say the revisionists had done nothing to train their youth with Marxist-Leninist theory, and the pablum of social democratic ideas they fed us was anti-Marxist. One of my comrades, in the UBC student club, a worker who had gone back to school to advance his position in life, and who considered himself something of a philosopher, handed me a book by a Christian named John Lewis. He's touted by the revisionist party in Great Britain as a "Marxist" theoretician, is a member of their party, and one of those who promoted bourgeois humanism as a part of the revisionist school of thought. So I studied this book all night before the symposium in order to defend my class in front of the bourgeoisie, for despite revisionism the young militants of the revisionist party had a deep class hatred for capitalism, and a deep aspiration to participate in revolution. But we were disarmed. Here was my chance to defend my class, to wage a battle on its behalf, and what had the revisionists put in my hands, a Christian book! Fortunately the book made absolutely no sense to me, just oppressed my spirits and negated my instincts to fight even on a crude basis against the bourgeoisie. When my turn came to speak I had nothing, literally that, nothing to say. I thrashed about completely impotent in front of the enemy, and in front of the leading student and faculty activists at UBC campus.

It was a disaster, not for communism, but for modern revisionism. It was exposed as having nothing to say through its leading cadre on campus. Of course some revisionist can personalise the situation, but the fact is revisionism was bankrupt on that front of class struggle. Only a Pakistani and an Indian, two foreigners, two proletarian inter-

nationalists, stood up that weekend and waged a tit-for-tat struggle for communist ideas against the representatives of imperialism. Again some pure spirit like Jack Scott might descend from a cloud and say well this formulation used here, or that sentence over there was not really Marxism-Leninism... But in those days, in those concrete circumstances, right in the thick of the masses, Comrade Bains and his allies in the Internationalists built their discussion group, fought imperialist ideas, organised an academic atmosphere on the capus, united the students to fight in various activities, marches, sit-ins, picket-lines and so on, and changed the politics of the UBC campus. Had the Internationalists not organised around the central question at that time, nothing would have moved forward. That after all is the essence of practising Marxism, to change the world, to revolutionise it, move it forward. In any case my own negative experience taught me that the revisionists had nothing to say on the front of theory, that their main motivation for going to university was to promote their careers. All this had nothing to do with Communism, and thanks to the organising of the Internationalists and later CCM(M-L) and CPC(M-L) the revisionists remain a side-line force amongst the youth and students. And all the activists knew that at the heart of this whole motion were the Internationalists, and that the embodiment of the spirit of this motion, this line of unity and struggle was Comrade Bains. The issue of "leader", or "official" never existed. His method and style were in fact opposite to all the bureaucrats in student government, all the self-proclaimed elected officials and bureaucrats, including those who lorded it over their fellow students as experts, communists, ideologues and so on. Although I was never a member of the Internationalists because I had my own sectarian clique of modern revisionists to organise, most of whom remained for the most part on the side-lines of campus politics unless I promoted them through the mass movement to some position or office, I always was attracted to them. Comrade Bains always opposed my modern revisionist line, but I knew that their style, their method of organising and sorting out problems, had created the energy at their weekly evening sessions, the various symposia, meetings, forums, campus soap-boxing and so on which gave the campus its life and its reputation in this period.

Such was my enthusiasm for the Internationalist's method of work, and my respect for Hardial Bains as an organiser of the youth, that I even tried to get the revisionist party to recruit him as a youth organiser. What a bargain thought I, even if Bains did support Chairman Mao. A good liberal is always prepared to make a few concessions over such minor matters if the overall business of politics is enhanced. However, my com-

rades in the revisionist party did not see matters the same way. Nor did Hardial Bains. A small matter of class struggle. He had no intention of joining them.

On the question of Hardial Bains I was given my second lesson in revisionist method, style and political line in dealing with a progressive trend. For years in the revisionist party we had been trained that the trotskysts were CIA agents, police spies and so forth. From their practise and their lines no serious militant in the revisionists could doubt this was true; trotskysts acted and spoke like CIA agents, police spies and so on. But I was a bit shocked to hear Nigel Morgan tell me in the spring of 1965 that Hardial Bains was a CIA agent!

Now how Morgan arrived at this conclusion is most instructive in understanding the mentality of a reactionary. When I asked how he knew this, Morgan said that he had just been in Moscow and his contacts there provided him with this information. Now every charlatan has an inside track leading somewhere, usually a dead end. But Morgan is one of the political classics of Canada, a model par excellence of modern revisionism. He knows everything, has contacts everywhere, and can pull a fact from his left ear, flip it in the air and turn it into a theory right before your unbelieving eyes. Now the explanation for Morgan's mysterious contacts, inside track, and so on with regards to Comrade Bains is very simple and clear.

The facts about this event are as follows. Comrade Bains had returned to India in March 1965 to visit his family which he had left at the age of nineteen in 1959 to emigrate to earn his living. He had been sponsored by his sister and brother-in-law resident in Vancouver. On his way back to Vancouver from his visit to India, he stopped over in Moscow as a tourist to visit the tomb of Lenin, and to investigate for himself something of the social relations imposed by the modern revisionists. While in Moscow he looked up an old friend of his, who I also knew quite well, a former exchange student at UBC, who as I recall was the first Russian to attend UBC.

This Russian was happy to see his old friend, and they had a number of discussions. At the last meeting between the two the Russian attacked the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao on essentially racist and anti-communist grounds thus revealing the true nature of his Russian social chauvinism. Comrade Bains strongly opposed this man's line, and opposed the whole revisionist line of the CPSU. Now it so happens that Nigel Morgan was in Moscow at the same time. Morgan, like Kashtan and other revisionist chieftains, is a frequent visitor to Moscow and Eastern European capitals, where deals are made, bargains struck and political business is transacted. One of the goods picked up by Morgan

on this particular trip was the story about Hardial's visit with this former Russian student, and his "anti-Soviet" line. With this piece of "detailed research" Morgan returned to Vancouver armed with all the facts necessary to prove the conclusion he had researched on an apriori basis a year before, namely, Hardial Bains is a CIA agent. I have been to Moscow and comrades there... end debate. Thus the rumour that Hardial Bains was a CIA agent owes its origin to Nigel Morgan, and it dates from Comrade Bains' visit to Moscow in March 1965 on his way back to Vancouver from India. That rumour was circulated by revisionists and other backward elements through the revisionist grapevine from one country to another, from one circle to another for a number of years. It did not matter to the revisionists that they knew Bains was from a long-standing communist family in India, that his father had spent many years in British colonial prisons for his political activity, and that Hardial himself had been a political activist there. Nor did it matter that in 1959 when as a 19 year old youth Comrade Bains presented himself to the spokesman for the revisionists in Victoria, B.C. and that this "communist" told Comrade Bains to join the NDP! This is their advice to pro-communist immigrants from India.

The question is why would Morgan invent such a story? Even though Morgan is notorious among Vancouver left circles as a chronic liar, and his own party comrades smirk behind his back as he churns out one fantasy after another, there has to be some explanation for his behaviour. The answer is also straightforward and clear cut. In the summer of 1964 the Internationalists organised a summer symposium called, "Russia, China and the West". I had been asked by the Internationalists to organise a spokesman from the revisionists to speak on behalf of the Soviet Union. Morgan was very enthusiastic to display his intellectual prowess in front of the students and faculty, so he became and made a nauseating revisionist speech full of platitudes about "peaceful co-existence", good will, democracy and humanism. He accused China of being adventurist, and lauded Khrushchov's goulash communism to the skies. Hardial Bains also spoke that day and utterly exposed the bankruptcy of Morgan's ideological stance and political line. Even though I was a revisionist, and agreed with most of Morgan's lines, I was delighted to see my friend and comrade from the student movement devastate that revisionist wind-bag. He showed in precise terms how there was absolutely no difference between Nigel Morgan's outlook and political line and that of a Christain priest who had at least never pretended to be a communist. It was here at UBC campus at International House in front of a couple of hundred students and faculty that Morgan concluded that



Bains was a CIA agent! Who else but a CIA agent could have the affrontery to expose as a sham and charlatan the High Priest of revisionism in B.C.? What Morgan needed was "detailed research" to prove his apriori conclusion. His trip to Moscow provided him with that, and thus a rumour and slander was hatched out of Morgan's wounded ego. And even if the other revisionists knew Morgan to be a liar and a slanderer, each of them has separate interests to protect; they are part of a class, the labour aristocracy, and the agency of Soviet social-imperialism. In order to protect their interests they make their bargains, alliances and carry on their lives like any wolves in the bourgeois world do. When someone stands up to them, rebels against their reactionary authoritarianism, they simply go wild with rumours, gossips, stories, and so on, including of course open collusion with the state apparatus.

Of course such methods do not stop revolutionaries from organising; nor do they stop the masses. Just as internationally the Soviet modern revisionists concocted all sorts of lies and slanders against Comrades Mao Tsetung and Enver Hoxha, and did their utmost to isolate the great Communist Party of China and Albanian Party of Labour from the world revolutionary forces, so too did the revisionists in each country follow the same method and style against the Marxist-Leninists struggling against this revisionism around the world.

Another example of how the revisionists used slanders, gossips and other reactionary styles of work to exercise hegemony in the mass movement was the case of the youth and student demonstration which sat down in front of Prime Minister Pearson and stopped the Pacific National Exhibition parade in August 1965. The revisionist in charge of the B.C. youth section suggested to me that it would be a good idea to mobilise the students at UBC to protest against Pearson's collaboration with the U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam. I was frequently called upon to 'deliver' the youth and students. Of course for me this simply meant bringing yet another idea for some sort of activism to the Internationalists, and if the idea was all right the students would mobilise and carry on.

In any case a demonstration was organised. A banner a hundred feet long and forty feet wide was laid out in the Pender Auditorium and a mammoth revisionist slogan, "Mr. Pearson, speak out against the War in Vietnam" was painted on it. Secret arrangements were made for the participants to meet and sit down in front of the parade, under the banner which was strung across Hastings Street just as the parade pulled into sight.

But before any of this action got under way the revisionist leader tried

to split the youth. And over what issue? Hardial Bains. For while Comrade Bains agreed to participate in the action, and mobilized his comrades and friends, he insisted on opposing the revisionist political line which was pure pacificism. There was a huge fight, if you can believe it, over the word "demand", with the revisionists insisting that it be amended to "request"; i.e., "We request Mr. Pearson please if you don't mind... speak out against the war in Vietnam."

The revisionists consciously blocked political discussion, fights over line, and so on, all in the name of "unity". So when Comrade Bains went to present his views to the meeting of the youth who were participating in the demonstration, the revisionist leader tried to have me throw Comrade Hardial out of the meeting! He used the most clumsy manoeuvre — he whispered in my ear that, listen, I was the real leader on campus, and why should I let this Indian rant and rave. Furthermore, didn't I know he was a CIA agent and so forth.

I was very embarrassed for this man; his spirit and style were the opposite of what had been generated among the students, and of course I would never split from my student comrades. Comrade Hardial made his speech even though we revisionists thought he was a bit screwy.

Remember this was 1965, and here was an Indian lecturing us about why the Canadian youth and students should actually support the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, and stop all this nonsense about pleading to the reactionaries for some sort of Christian charity.

Of course in 1975, a decade later, all this sounds perfectly sensible. But at that time just to say those things meant waging a vicious tit-for-tat struggle against the modern revisionists, who together with the social democrats and other reactionary elements tried to monopolise left-wing politics in BC and stop precisely such ideological struggle from taking place in the mass movement.

For example, this revisionist youth commander had just returned from a two year posting with the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Budapest. He had been around the world; met with revolutionaries, government delegations, revisionist party bureaucrats from the four corners of the globe. Was he therefore not an authority on communism? on the United Front? on who was a revolutionary and who was a CIA agent? One must never underestimate how various people turn their connections, and their social relations into capital, into currency as the bourgeois political jargon has it.

So the revisionists with their international connections, their trade union posts, their university professors, had quite a bit of capital. And of course their social democratic allies had even more capital. To defy them

meant to stand against the tide, to be denounced, vilified, slandered. This is inevitable and this is what in fact happened. But this did not stop the youth and student movement from developing; nor did it stop the revisionist flower from falling off. Shortly after his huffing and puffing in 1965, this revisionist youth commander was also denounced by the revisionists, called all sorts of names, and dropped out of communist politics.

I left the revisionists in December 1968 so I was never in their circles to hear how their rumours and gossips developed about the Internationalists after that time. In fact, I myself was now grist in their rumour mills. The revisionists of course preferred to limit their attacks on the Marxist-Leninists to the underground network of gossips and slanders. This is a safer method for a reactionary than coming out into the open and taking on the communists in a straight-forward fight.

From 1968 to 1970 the Internationalists had built their internal organisation to the point where they could enter the political world as a proletarian party. By 1972 the Party had reached a stage where it could contest the revisionists in a federal election by fielding 51 candidates, and joining in support of the Partisan Organisation candidate in Vancouver. This greatly shook the revisionists, as did the unity of the Partisan and Chulima Collective with CPC(M-L) on November 5, 1972. But what made them leap out into print and elevate their slanders and rumours to the level of political literature in their efforts to ruin the name of CPC(M-L) was a series of articles published in **People's Canada Daily News** titled "Mr. Kashtan Visits Moscow". (Vol. 2, Nos. 41, 42, 44, 45, January 23 to 26, 1973)

These articles hit the revisionists a hard blow. They exposed the fact that Kashtan's speech in Moscow in December 1972 was nothing more than a pledge of the revisionists to turn Canada into a neo-colony of Soviet social-imperialism. Every sham argument and pretense of this traitor to communism and the Canadian people was laid bare. Thus independent of its will the revisionist monster leaped out into print.

William Stewart beat his breast in public, announcing to the world: "Canadian Maoists — agents of imperialism". In his first article written for the revisionist newspaper, **Canadian Tribune**, Stewart floats the usual subterfuge that the People's Republic of China, and Chairman Mao are anti-Soviet. The political line of CPC(M-L) is no different from that of arch-anti-communists, he says. Moreover CPC(M-L) are splitters and wreckers in a time when unity above all else is needed for world peace and socialism. Furthermore CPC(M-L)'s use of scientific language in their press is an insult to the Canadian working class, which according to

revisionist logic and practice, is capable of digesting only the most philistine bourgeois pabulum. Finally, there is his call “to isolate” the Party from the “working class and democratic movements”.

Encouraged by the Party’s lack of response to his article, and like all reactionaries, overestimating his own strength and underestimating the strength of revolution, Stewart plucked up his courage to elevate his popular journalism into political theory. Thus in the March-April 1973 edition of the **Communist Viewpoint** (Vol. 5, No. 2), theoretical journal of the revisionists, William Stewart writes his definitive analysis, “Maoism in Canada”.

Now it happens that William Stewart is one of my star teachers by negative example. For years I used to think this rowdy philistine and mad-hat schemer was a communist. He peddled every reactionary revisionist line you can imagine, and foremost, working class chauvinism. Stewart was one of the revisionists who promoted most strongly the reactionary thesis that only communists who were from working class origins were of value.

It was not until he had convinced me to leave UBC and move to Toronto to edit **Scan** magazine and watch his inner party manoeuvrings at close range that I saw through this charlatan and reactionary pretender. Everything that he did in politics was in the nature of a deal, a business transaction, always cloaked in some concocted theory and passed off with a crude joke.

What is instructive to point out here is that Stewart reveals straightforward reactionary thinking. First he starts with his conclusion: CPC(M-L) is counter-revolutionary. Then he sets out to prove it and so grasps on to some “Marxist” theory, in his case a Bulgarian revisionist article denouncing the Communist Party of China’s analysis of the four contradictions in the world. By caricaturising this analysis and “proving” it to be anti-Marxist, his whole case against CPC(M-L) is made. All he has to do then is simply heap abuse, make charges, denounce, gossip and slander. But two things are important to single out in this slanderous attack on CPC(M-L).

One is that Stewart is forced to concede that after “scores of petty-bourgeois groups have sprung up based on the little red book only to self-destruct” at last a “hard-core Maoist grouping has emerged imperiently naming itself the ‘Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)’ ” In other words, pain him as it must, the Party exists as an objective force in Canadian politics and he is reduced to publicly calling for its quarantine from the mass movement, which despite his most ardent wishes precisely the opposite has occurred. Today the revisionists are



more isolated than ever and exposed as a bourgeois trend, while the Party has stronger links with the mass movements and is deeply rooted in Marxism-Leninism.

A second aspect to Stewart's article is his obsession with form, and with his own chauvinism. "The CPC(M-L)", he says, "is a clumsy, brutal, cliché-ridden organisation whose language and policy, created with utter contempt for the Canadian working class, are laid down in China." All of these are standard charges by the bourgeoisie against communist revolution — clumsy, brutal, cliché-ridden. One can see the bourgeois politicians, landlords, and capitalists, including their Menshevik agents in the working class movement saying these very same things as the poverty-stricken hoards of Russian proletarians and poor peasants descended upon their palaces in October 1917.

But Stewart has nothing to say about the Party's analysis of revisionism, particularly of William Kashtan's treasonous speech made grovelling in front of his masters in Moscow.

Note too the reversion of every reactionary to national chauvinism. CPC(M-L) is not Canadian! Of course Stewart is too cowardly to come right out and say how is it that a Canadian communist party can be organised by an Indian immigrant. That Tim Buck was an English immigrant is just fine. That both Tim Buck and Hardial Bains came to Canada at 19 years of age is not the point. One came from the white motherland; the other from the brown Indian colony. Scratch any Canadian opportunist and you will find a national chauvinist. For Marxist-Leninists there is only proletarian internationalism, unity between the workers and oppressed nations against a common enemy, imperialism, especially superpower hegemonism, and all reactionaries.

But leave aside Stewart's racist innuendo, which from my own experience is a common thread in all opportunist attacks on the Party, and note the big point he makes of his assertion that CPC(M-L) is a creature of China. The assumption is of course that communism and CPC(M-L) are foreign to Canada, a standard anti-communist argument if there ever was one. Stewart in his wildest dreams could never imagine that the youth and student movement which grew up right in front of his eyes, out of the basic masses at UBC campus, and later from other campuses across Canada could actually grow from stage to stage, moving from one historical task to another, to the point where he, William Stewart, veteran worker and communist, would actually have to leap out and make a hopelessly feeble attack on it in print. The twist today of course is that the present opportunists attacking CPC(M-L) reach the same conclusion that Stewart reaches, namely CPC(M-L) is counter-revolutionary, not because

CPC(M-L) is “laid down in China”, but because CPC(M-L) is **not** laid down in China. What unites the two sets of opportunists is that they start with the conclusion that CPC(M-L) is counter-revolutionary and then through “detailed research” prove their apriori conclusion.

In any case, Mr. William Stewart was a thoroughly beaten and dispirited man when I met him in the fall of 1973 and gave him a copy of my statement in support of CPC(M-L). He admitted it was a “mistake” to engage the Party in a polemic; and how changed he was from the bouncy, cocky political wheeler and dealer I had known five years earlier. Of course he could always rationalise in his worker-chauvinist mind that I was a bourgeois intellectual, a fact I would not contest. But that a bourgeois intellectual could be trained in an iron disciplined communist party to become a soldier for revolution has never penetrated the poor man’s skull. Even then how could he rationalise my parents’ support for the Party. There was no doubting their “working class credentials”, and he was their long time family friend during the 1950’s and 1960’s. Hence Stewart was quite shaken when I gave him my father’s message which was “tell that wretched traitor to the working class if he ever steps foot in our communist house again we’ll throw him out the door.” How crude!

When we parted company, this expert on Canadian Maoism was hardly in the mood for beating his breast! All his intellectual and literary efforts to ruin the name of CPC(M-L), to lie, slander and concoct nonsense, had not prevented one of his prize students from moving forward under the discipline of the Party, nor his old family friends, long time working people and former revisionist activists, from also supporting a Party organised by the very youth and student movement towards which Stewart was so contemptuous in the 1960’s. And led by an immigrant from India to boot. How impertinent indeed!

Now those in the revolutionary movement who have seen through the straightforward modern revisionists have come to expect a reactionary method and style from them. We understand that modern revisionism is an international bourgeois ideological trend, and as such will be characterised by bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. But one does not expect this sort of method and style from someone who calls himself a Marxist-Leninist. Yet this was exactly the method Jack Scott used to oppose the Internationalists and later CPC(M-L).

I have also known Jack Scott for many years. In 1963 Jack Scott was expelled from the “Communist” Party of Canada for taking a just stand in support of the People’s Republic of China when India invaded China; and this expulsion was upheld through various kangaroo trials. Scott organised the Progressive Workers’ Movement, the first anti-revisionist

organisation in Canada. It was composed mainly of young workers, and a number of other militants from the old revisionist party. They carried out rigorous activities for a time, and I remember that the Internationalists did a lot of propaganda for them at UBC and encouraged their members to associate with PWM. But by 1969-70, when I came across Jack Scott again, the Progressive Workers' Movement had been liquidated and the Internationalists had advanced to become the Canadian Communist Movement, and later CPC(M-L).

I have stressed earlier that the student movement at UBC led by the Internationalists was non-sectarian and non-dogmatic. At the same time a generally anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist line was advanced and the whole politics and atmosphere of the campus was changed. Central to this whole process was the Internationalists' struggle to analyse the imperialist cultural aggression against the youth and students, how it affected our outlook, motivations, social relations. This was a period of rapid imperialist expansion in Canada — BC was more or less booming at this time. Yet the youth and students were under very vicious ideological and cultural attack by the imperialists in their efforts to bend us as servants for their imperialist enterprises. Not armed with any sort of analysis to deal with this aggression, many a rebellious student was simply wiped out; either had mental breakdowns, dropped out, or even committed suicide. All of us felt this aggression against ourselves, the dictatorship in the classroom, the dictatorship of social forms that generated loneliness, nausea, endless pursuit of commodities, reducing social relations to commodity relations and so on. It was as a result of actually living through this period, of being right at the centre of this struggle of the students and wrestling with their bourgeois hang-ups that the Internationalists crystalised this experience in an analysis entitled "Necessity for Change", written in 1967.

Yet here was this "veteran communist militant", Jack Scott, who proclaimed to the world that he was a Marxist-Leninist and who took up the task of leading the communist movement against revisionism, with nothing whatever to say to us youth and students in the 1960's. Progressive Workers' Movement was just that, a "workers' movement", not a communist organisation. Scott had the same old hash dished out by the revisionists which amounted to some moralistic lectures, some stories about the 1930's, some rebukes that we weren't workers, and so on. I say "we", because although I was a revisionist militant and followed the sectarian line of never investigating and studying criticism of the Soviet Union and the revisionist party, nevertheless I was also a student militant and part of the student milieu which the Internationalists were

organising.

Scott's attitude towards that milieu was identical to that of the revisionists. He saw some mass motion, and he converted that into political capital. While he was liquidating his proletarian assets through his bourgeois methods and style, he saw in the youth and student movement a reserve from which to refurbish his losses. In practice this meant carrying on the same kind of activity my revisionist youth leaders tried to engage in, splitting the students for sectarian purposes. When I told Comrade Hardial about how this revisionist had whispered in my ear to split our student group, he told me that on many occasions Scott and PWM had tried to do the same thing.

Nor can Scott ever claim that the youth and student movement led by the Internationalists in those years didn't make efforts to unite with PWM. On more than one occasion I had been fired on by the revisionists because my friends at UBC were all Maoists, and supporters of Jack Scott. The point is simply that Comrade Bains had always considered PWM as a Marxist-Leninist organisation, as the Party, and he made every effort to bring Internationalist militants close to the organisation, and promoted it among the students.

But Scott never had a large-minded, communist attitude toward the Internationalists. Instead he always tried to split it, and he promoted all the old revisionist philistinism about not alienating the progressives from the mainstream and so on.

Some of Jack Scott's protégés actually promoted the thesis that drugs were liberating, and in a quite memorable struggle Comrade Bains thoroughly exposed the bankruptcy of that line and its promoter actually criticised himself and denounced the line. This whole turn in the 1966-67 period included my own tricks as the elected vice-president of the student union using the position to promote revisionist activism without analysis or plan, while others, like Jack Scott and his friends, played theirs.

In 1967 these worthies, all led by Scott, refused to come under the discipline of their own organisation, the Internationalists. Instead they split and formed "New Group".

You can catch a sense of Scott's double dealing by reading the July 1969, **BC Newsletter** edited under his guidance. In the report on student activities he sort of innocently narrates how there are these various organisations; SDU "a very loose alliance of various groups of Marxists, anarchists, progressive liberals, and other politically-minded individuals", while at UBC there is "Committee for a Progressive Student Union" which has its own "Marxist caucus". Then we have this unctuous statement about the Vancouver Student Movement which had been



organised by the Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) the whole motion of which had taken a definite leap at the North American Conference of Anti-Imperialist Youth in Regina May 7-12, 1969. Now Scott himself had promised to go to that conference but at the last minute never showed up. He continued to play his double dealing politics with CCM(M-L) and later the Party for a number of years. In any case we read in July 1969: "The main problem of VSM ... and the reason other students at times would rather organise without them than enter into unity, despite wide agreement on a great number of ideological questions — has been a leftist-sectarian style of work which often raises into antagonistic contradictions those issues that could remain the subject of principled debate. However, the VSM does approach its tasks with great sincerity, and the dedication and energy of its members is something other groups could well emulate. It is to be hoped that they will learn from the mistakes they have committed in their style of work." (**B.C. Newsletter**, Vol. 1, 1969, p. 10)

First of all note that Scott concentrates on form; we agree with your content, he says, but you are sectarian. But what Scott doesn't say is that he himself has been the organiser of the "Marxist caucus" in the UBC "Committee for a Progressive Student Union", and likewise he and his supporters who split from the Internationalists were in the thick of SDU at Simon Fraser. The whole thing is a subterfuge. Furthermore, the swindler is fishing. What is suggested is that there are some sincere, but **misled** youth, who Scott remonstrates to "improve their style". What he is really saying, and this is the line the man has always followed, is that if you split from Hardial Bains life will be just fine. That's what this sugar coated bullet is all about.

One has to have experience with political speculators to watch how they play the market. First they hold out the hand of friendship; then they organise behind your back; next thing you know there is a split. One thing is for certain, such characters will never come under the discipline of a party.

Now I first came into contradiction with Scott's line on CPC(M-L) without fully being conscious of it at the time, at Christmas 1969. During my visit to Vancouver from Prince George where I was teaching in a community college, I had a long discussion with a former comrade of mine from the revisionist party who was also a personal friend. The discussion was about the Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist). Now this friend had at one time been responsible for organising youth in BC for the revisionists (in 1967), the same time I had been appointed **Scan** editor. Indeed, he had made the proposal that I edit **Scan** so that he could



be BC youth organiser. Everyone in the revisionists agreed with this division of labour, and when I left Vancouver, and in several letters to this comrade, I had urged him to unite with the Internationalists in BC. He had undertaken to organise what was called a Marxist-Oriented Youth Organisation (MOYO). He had visited the U.S., made contact there with a revisionist organiser by the name of Michael Myerson, the first U.S. youth to visit the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, and wanted to emulate the U.S. revisionist Dubois Clubs.

My attitude had been, fine, Dubois Clubs for the U.S., but here in Canada, particularly in BC, the Internationalists were already organised, they had a mass base among the students, had launched several reform type united fronts such as the B.C Students' Federation, and at the same time had provided a forum for the discussion of various ideas. In any case this person did make one or two visits with some Internationalists, but he had other interests in his mind and he carried his own line, which amounted to mobilizing some of the children of revisionist party members. Nothing much came of his efforts, as nothing much came of any of our revisionist efforts in the youth and student movement. We were tailing behind it, aping its worst features, always with the idea that we did not want to be sectarian, when in practice we were both sectarian and liberal.

So my friend and I had this difference over the Internationalists, and I suppose in the final analysis over Comrade Hardial, for a long time. The issue in Christmas 1969 was Comrade Bill Shpikula. Now one has to know how the communalism of Vancouver left-wing circles work; this communalism itself grew up after years of revisionist politics and method of work whereby the objectivity of issues, political lines, and so on were always obscured by degenerating everything to the level of bourgeois social relations. As one social democratic woman told me, everyone has their "franchise" on a particular aspect of the political market place.

Anyhow both my friend and I knew the Canron plant in Vancouver was organised by a revisionist dominated union, and that revisionists had a number of their agents there. Part of the profits of this political "franchise" system is that if you support such and such bourgeois clique, say the revisionists, then you can be dispatched for a job through this or that union hall. I myself got two industrial type jobs in this manner as a summer worker and no one ever questioned the sensibleness of this sort of relationship. Looking back of course one can see this is all straightforward capitalist social relations; someone has some capital in the form of an office in a union, another has some capital by his party position or family ties; these are exchanged as commodities and everyone but the

proletariat profits. This is the stock in trade method of revisionist work; it is not just different from communism, it is the opposite of communism, truly an international bourgeois trend in the communist movement, which if not opposed on a continuous and relentless basis, turns communist parties into social fascist parties, socialist states into social fascist states.

Anyway, to prove how “crazy” the Maoists were my friend told me this horror story about how Bill Shpikula had ranted and raved at Canron, beat up some innocent workers, beat up some innocent police, and generally carried on like a maniac. My line was, very good, the man is a maniac, CCM(M-L) is crazy, but we both know who the Vancouver police are, and we both know who those union hacks who have usurped the Canron workers’ union are, do you not think the Vancouver left should unite to oppose the police, and oppose the revisionists. No. Why? It will make the left look stupid; we should have nothing to do with these people; they have brought the state down on their own heads, and if they carry on their madness it will come down on our heads too. I never agreed with this line, but I never organised to oppose it either. I returned to Prince George and carried on my side-line activities.

Now when I investigated the issue I learned the following facts. First of all Comrade Bill and his two other comrades had gone to Canron to give out a leaflet inviting workers to a programme promoting friendship with China. Some pro-China workers warmly invited Comrade Bill and the others inside the plant to give out the leaflets in the cafeteria and to speak with the workers.

Now every revolutionary knows this inner sanctum of the bourgeoisie is inviolate as far as the ruling class is concerned; they are most politically vulnerable when the workers are assembled in the factory lunch rooms and locker rooms, and to say the least, indisposed to see these places turned into arenas for the dispensing of Mao Tsetung Thought! So essentially two things happened: one, the capitalists went into a frenzy, mobilized their own factory police and called the state; and two, a revisionist worker proved himself to be an agent of the boss and state by provoking a fight with Comrade Bill in the following manner: he called him a Maoist so and so and threw a cup of hot coffee in his face. Such is the democratic centralism of the yellow guard in the workers’ movement!

Needless to say the red guard defended his right to speak to the workers and resisted the physical attacks on him by the plant guards as well as the police. And so a new myth, the Bill Shpikula legend, was born in Vancouver — not entirely unlike the Hardial Bains is a CIA agent myth.

We could expect nothing less from modern revisionism. They are the agents of the bourgeoisie, part of the labour aristocracy, and specifically agents of Soviet social-imperialism. But how did Jack Scott, the veteran communist militant, react to all this? He knew Canron was part of the revisionist "franchise". He knew how the particularly traitorous revisionist bureaucrat in that union had called the police to help break up the Canadian Iron Workers Union, and actually had organised scabs to cross the picket lines. He knew how the revisionists colluded with the company, the state and the labour aristocracy to liquidate the Lenkurt struggle in 1966. Why then did he not in principle, following the basic communist line of uniting the many against the main enemy, call on the left to denounce the police, denounce the revisionists, investigate the details of the case, and if some sectarian errors had been made, assist the young communists to overcome them in a communist manner?

Did he do anything like this at all? No. He carried on exactly the same line as my revisionist friend. This was simply used as grist for his mill to split the Marxist-Leninist forces, to build his case that Comrade Hardial Bains was some kind of demon force seducing the innocent into the lion's den and deserting them to perish there. So, to advance his own political capital, he, Jack Scott, not Comrade Hardial, had deserted Comrade Bill Shpikula to the mercy of the state.

And some mercy they showed this defiant young communist worker from Vancouver's East End! The same mercy they had been showing every young rebellious BC worker, Native Indian, poor person, since British colonialism and U.S. imperialism staked out that province for its private monopoly profits.

They threw him in jail for two and a half years. They threw him into solitary confinement. They kidnapped him the day before the end of his sentence and dragged him off to the psychiatric dungeon at Riverside and tortured him with electric shock "treatments".

And when the Party mobilised public opinion to denounce this fascism they were ultra-left.

Thus what took place was the revisionist worker made an alliance with the capitalist owner and the police to attack a communist. This is not the first time such an alliance has taken place, nor will it be the last. After all, the political line of William Stewart and his party is "isolate CPC(M-L)", and what better way to the mind of a reactionary to "isolate" the party than by colluding with the state, and then doing all kinds of counter-revolutionary public opinion that the Party is ultra-leftist and so on in order to demobilise the general left forces. This is exactly what was done in 1969, and the thing which is most significant is that a supposed Marxist-

Leninist was an active participant in that general method and line.

Here is what Scott said publicly at that time: "The Progressive Workers' Movement wishes to emphasize that it played no part in the December conference in Vancouver of the Canadian Student Movement or the disturbance during the period at the Canron plant in False Creek. We do not wish to make any critical comments about this incident while certain people involved are still facing court action but we will certainly do so at a later date. (See December **B.C. Newsletter** for our statement on the Canadian Communist Movement." ("The Canron Incident", **B.C. Newsletter**, Number 6, January 1970) Let us recall that December 1969 Newsletter: "CCM consistently suffers from ... the left-wing error of mistaking contradictions among the people for contradictions between the people and the enemy, U.S. imperialism ... the CCM displays a severe sectarianism... people desiring a fuller explanation can talk to PWM members (i.e., Jack Scott and three or four ex-student, ex-Internationalists) or write to us.... It is on Hardial Bains, by far the dominant figure in the CCM, that the blame must fall for the fostering of this style of work." ("Editorial Statement: On the Canadian Communist Movement" **B.C. Newsletter**, Number 6, 1969)

All right, let us grant Jack Scott that Comrade Bill Shpikula was an untrained soldier in a crude army of youth and students marching from one end of the country to the other to bring Mao Tsetung Thought to the masses, hacking a trail through the underbrush where no one had ventured before; let us grant Scott that Comrade Bill was naive to have accepted the worker's invitation to go into the Canron lunchroom, was sectarian in hitting back at some yellow-dog revisionist worker swearing obscenities at Chairman Mao and throwing a hot cup of coffee in Comrade Bill's face, was ultra-left in denouncing some racist, anti-communist judge as a fascist, was dogmatic in refusing to work without wages in prison, and even unwise to punch and fight every attempt by the guards to kidnap him to the psychiatric dungeon, and certainly histrionic to write the slogan "Long Live the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)!" on the walls of the prison. Grant Scott all these premises. Now, was the principal aspect of the contradiction in January 1970 between himself as a veteran communist militant and Comrade Bill, or between the state and modern revisionists on the one hand, and the people on the other? Did Scott practice what he preached to CCM(M-L) in December 1969, or did he practice exactly what the revisionists themselves practiced — gossip, slander, mystification and distortion of the truth in order to isolate CCM(M-L) from the mass movement in a vain attempt to promote his own political capital at the expense of the over-all interests of the



communist movement?!

Everyone in Vancouver left circles knows that Scott did everything possible to immobilise the left around Comrade Bill's case, and did maximum propaganda to the effect that the state was provoked, that the principal aspect of the contradiction was not between the state and the people, but between CCM(M-L)'s sectarianism which brought down the state against the people. In short, the contradiction between CCM(M-L) and the people was an antagonistic contradiction. This was exactly the line peddled by my ex-revisionist friend, who I should add went from revisionism to Waffle to being a lawyer.

In short Scott gave a completely opportunist political line, the essence of which is anti-communism and class collaborationism. History has in fact already vindicated the heroic communist stand of Comrade Bill. While Scott left his legacy of capitulation and collaboration; Comrade Bill left his legacy in prison of staunch rebellion against reaction, of active resistance against fascist repression. On August 7, 1970 about 250 prisoners in his jail staged a sit-in to protest the murder of Wally Brass.

Furthermore if one examines Scott's method and style in the December 1969 and January 1970 statements one can see the double dealing nature of the man. "We do not wish to make any critical comments at this time ... we will certainly do so at a later date." Has not everything been said? What is there to add? The apriori conclusion has been made: Hardial Bains is counter-revolutionary. This new case, which has already been pre-judged, not studied and investigated, simply becomes another fact to prove the case. Everyone is trained to read political signals; PWM did not say "we do not wish to make any comments"; they said "any critical comments". And in case their supporters are a bit sleepy, he hits them over the head with "we will certainly do so at a later date." Do what? Investigate? Organise the Left against the state? No. Make "critical comments." The effect of this reactionary method is all too clear. It creates illusions; it drugs and pacifies potentially revolutionary forces; it takes the heat off the state. Focus is put on some bogey-man character who provokes all this trouble; some devil figure lurking mysteriously in the background leading the innocents to slaughter. This is the very essence of all reactionary children's stories which are designed to obscure the class nature of evil, and create some devils and bogeymen as the enemy. Scott, one of Canada's more fanciful children's story tellers, has created a whole catalogue of such devils and bogeymen, ranging from Hardial Bains, to international trade union bureaucrats. Devils, not social classes, are the stuff of his yarns. Of course the origins of such story telling is not hard to trace; they come from the revisionist arsenal. Scott



may be more endearing than Nigel Morgan, but his method and style of organising are all the same, only more pernicious.

My first common political practise with Scott's circle was in the fall of 1970. I worked for a brief time on a newspaper, **The New Leaf**, which had been organised by Scott's remnants from Progressive Workers. I had known these ex-UBC students a long time; they were quite anti-communist in the mid-1960's, and I never had much unity with them. In fact in our first meeting about the content of **New Leaf** I asked them why they were promoting the line of Canadian independence without saying anything about communism, about the need for some kind of Marxist leadership. After all these were the so-called "pro-China" Leftists. I myself did not support the Communist Party of China's political line, nor did I accept Mao Tsetung Thought as the Marxism-Leninism of this era. But anyone from the communist movement knows as an ABC of Marxism the necessity for a Party, for socialism.

The explanation for this strange creature, **New Leaf**, was that a broad united front for Canadian independence separate and apart from proletarian revolution had to be built first, then a party would grow out of it. My preference was to engage in straightforward trade union reformist politics and so I broke with this circle. But during the War Measures Act period of late 1970 I had some more experience with Scott and his circles, by which I mean those circles who follow his political line, and with whom he makes alliances and pacts. One has to be very careful about these things because all these characters are prima donnas, all individuals and leaders in their own right, with their own particular fiefdom and enterprise.

For example, when I wrote my statement of September 11, 1973 to the Party, immediately after I had heard the news on the radio about Allende's overthrow by the U.S. sponsored fascists, I described my experience with Scott. I said quite factually that an RCMP political police officer who presented himself as corporal Foxe came to visit my house in February 1972 to ask questions about various people on the left, and to do propaganda about Partisan Organisation, about which I knew nothing at the time anyway, and against Comrade Bains. His investigation was allegedly part of a test to see if I was a good candidate for being a Canadian citizen — I immigrated to Canada at age four and had been turned down for citizenship three times by the state for my membership in the revisionist party. In any case it is a straight-forward factual matter that on the day he visited my home, and several people are witness to this fact, Jack Scott and Homer Stevens, a revisionist and president of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, came to Edmonton to

speak at a poverty conference. I in fact had to ask corporal Foxe to leave as I had to meet these two men at the airport. He said quite frankly, yes, I know. I never thought anything of that comment as revisionists had well trained us that the RCMP know everything, that they tap all telephones, and given that they know everything, why try to keep up any kind of security. This has always been their political practise — open and above board with the state! Only later did the Party teach me the obvious lesson to be drawn from the revisionists, namely that their line about no security is simply a way of establishing a bargain with the state, an unwritten contract. You don't attack us; we for our part won't organise revolution.

When I met Scott and Stevens at the airport, both of whom I know extremely well, I immediately told them about corporal Foxe's visit, asked them what experience they had had with the police, what their line was and so on. Stevens told me that he never talked with them; Scott told me that sometimes you could learn something from them. That was the end of the matter.

I recounted this situation in my letter to the Party and drew the lesson that even though corporal Foxe could have no ideological influence on me because he was an RCMP agent, still Scott's line could and did have an influence on my thinking. Why? Because I still had a self-interest in not making a radical rupture from careerism, from bourgeois individualism. In short, Scott's role was one of prolonging and assisting the old in my consciousness and habits, and of discouraging the new, growing aspect of rebellion against the old and the desire to participate in revolution.

Now I had an opportunity to have political discussions with Jack Scott in February 1972 and June 1973. In both instances he was strongly opposed to the Party, but it was difficult to pin him down as to why. There were stories about how Comrade Bains was dictatorial, that CPC(M-L) broke promises, was ultra-left etc., but nothing concrete, no overall analysis of a political line or method and style of work. The main impression I received was that if I wanted to keep my freedom, to preserve my critical faculties, i.e. to remain a bourgeois individualist, I had better stay away from CPC(M-L).

But by June 1973 the objective necessity to change and move forward was becoming more urgent for me, and for some of my friends from Edmonton (where I taught college from 1971 to 1973). Four young revolutionaries went to visit Scott at his home in June 1973 to investigate just why PWM failed, what exactly were Scott's criticisms of the Party, where he thought the revolutionary movement should go from here. We received no straight answers to any questions. We were treated to anecdotes about how Scott gave good advice and nobody listened, how there

were too many “drunks” in PWM, how there was no party discipline, and so on. But no analysis, no summation of an extremely important stage of communist history in our country. The same with respect to his views about CPC(M-L). He always had some subterfuge, was always dodging away from the central issue, twisting and turning. As all four of us had long experience with the modern revisionists we easily recognised the method and style.

Scott’s method and style is essentially that of the revisionists. He is part of the old, and it was precisely his old method of apriori thinking, of subterfuge, of protecting some private interest or ego against which the four of us were in active rebellion.

You can’t imagine the sense of liberation the four of us experienced when we left Scott’s place that night. We all jubilantly declared that Scott was part of the old, that was it, the Party was the only real thing. Within a year all four of us were candidates for CPC(M-L) in a federal election.

Thus Scott’s method produced exactly the opposite effect to what he wanted. Like the revisionists he starts with the conclusion that CPC(M-L) is bad or even counter-revolutionary, and then proceeds to do “detailed research” to prove his case. Thus, contrary to his will, Scott’s leadership lead to the liquidation of PWM, and his subsequent self-exposures are leading revolutionary youth to break from his bourgeois style of politics — this man who so shamelessly bandies about his connections with China as some kind of commodity to be sold in the political market place. What is new about this? Naturally those who are opportunists, who want to make bargains, deals, float enterprises of one sort or another can make alliances and partnerships. At best they are risky enterprises, and their unity is that of political entrepreneurs. When one’s advantage is to be found elsewhere, then the old bargain is discarded, and a new one is struck. All of this is part of the old method and style embodied in the revisionist party, and now being emulated by circles calling themselves Marxist-Leninist.

That was the only point I made in my statement; it was a serious criticism of Jack Scott’s influence on some sections of the revolutionary youth who want to make a move, but are encouraged not to do so by this veteran communist who never fails to divert young revolutionaries from central issues and lead them onto the path of anti-communism.

I was considerably surprised therefore to find that a new gossip had been generated in Vancouver circles as a result of my letter to CPC(M-L). Several of my friends demanded of me; why did I call Jack Scott a police agent? I asked how could they possibly come to that conclusion. What I clearly said was that both Scott and the police agent had the same

political line on CPC(M-L). So too, as I have shown, does the revisionist party.

Now if Scott were open and above board, why not merely say, listen, here are my reasons for opposing CPC(M-L), and if the RCMP happen to agree with it fine, that's their business. Science is science and it doesn't change objective reality one iota whether the Pope or the RCMP say yay or nay. Instead Scott had generated a whole yarn about how the Party insists that everyone who wants to join the Party must write a statement that condemns Jack Scott! To say nothing about the sense of his own importance he must feel, let me say that the Party never had a thing to do with my statement; it was written in the heat of a momentous political event, the disastrous collapse of modern revisionism in Chile, and the temporarily successful U.S. imperialist fascist aggression against a small country because of the revisionist illusion about the possibility of peaceful transition. It was this political event which motivated my decision, and pushed me to make a decision to unite with the Party, come under its discipline, and in the process of class struggle remould my outlook, smash up the old revisionist habits and bourgeois individualism, and join together with my comrades in communist co-operation to build the party, and lead revolution in Canada.

Yet this simple matter, which could have been clarified in a straightforward discussion, was festered, interpreted, and concocted into some kind of new monster or demon to scare away people from the Party. Do not go near CPC(M-L) children, they will make you write statements damning old veteran communists and accusing them of being police agents — ad infinitum.

Behind all this old nonsense there is the face of Nigel Morgan tending his bees in his back yard, reeling off one horror story after another about the Maoist agents and their perfidious deeds. All this, let me stress, is part of the old and has nothing to do with communism, with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, with the method of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, Joseph Stalin, or Mao Tsetung in building the communist movement from one stage to the next in the epochal struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and replace it with socialism, and eventually communism.

Now we come to 1975 and what do we find? In Montreal there is a newspaper called **En Lutte!** which proclaims itself to be Marxist-Leninist. Fine. CPC(M-L) made every effort to engage in private discussions with **En Lutte!**, to exchange views on a number of subjects, and establish a basis of unity even if on a minimum basis of support for common programs. **En Lutte!** does meet with CPC(M-L), agrees that CPC(M-L) is a

revolutionary organisation, states that talks have just begun and so on, and yet within a few months they publicly attack the Party (December 12, 1974 issue of **En Lutte!**), and within a further short period have reached complete opposite conclusions. CPC(M-L) is not only not revolutionary, not only not non-revolutionary; it is declared to be positively counter-revolutionary.

Well, yawn, Nigel Morgan told us that in 1965; William Stewart elevated Morgan's CIA yarn into political theory in 1973; Jack Scott has been peddling his own version of essentially the same old stew since 1969. What is going on in **En Lutte!**'s head? We can tell you what is going on. Apriori thinking is going on. Start with a conclusion, then build your theories and do your "detailed investigations" to prove it. Furthermore, we can tell you why **En Lutte!** jumped to its conclusion. They felt the heat of CPC(M-L)'s political line in the mass movement, and instead of simply dealing with the political line in an open and above board manner using the scientific method taught to the proletariat by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, they immediately and subjectively leap to a conclusion, and concoct theories and slanders to protect their private interests.

And this is the heart of the matter. A communist has no private interest; only the interest of revolution. Because a communist has no private interest he struggles to become a thorough-going dialectical materialist completely fearless as to what conclusions he may reach through study and investigation, through summing up social practice, through actually leading the revolution forward. But a bourgeois has a private interest; he has his ego; he has his political capital; he has his social relations based on self-interest. So naturally when a bourgeois is exposed, as Nigel Morgan was by Comrade Bains at the summer symposium at UBC in 1964, he must have an apriori explanation for this. Either a bourgeois defends his private interests, or he throws them up. If he abandons them fine, he can move forward, unite with the Marxist-Leninists, and in the day-to-day struggles over political line, over theoretical questions and so forth, following the tested revolutionary organisational principle of democratic centralism. But if he clings to his self interest, his bourgeois ego, his private capital, that is, like a miser clings to his gold, he will come to no good end, simply that. First apriori rationalisation — CPC(M-L) is counter-revolutionary, agent, you name it. Then an endless series of anecdotes, gossips, lies, slanders, to prove the case. From there collaboration with the state to isolate CPC(M-L). Or if one is even more fool-hardy and mindless as were some neo-trotskyists in CPL a few years back, they may even try an adventure of physical attack. There is no teaching a reactionary.



Thus we have the amazing situation of **En Lutte!** emulating every bad habit, method and style of the modern revisionists in a matter of a few months. From a position of admitting they know virtually nothing about the history or the political economy of Canada to being experts on what a Marxist-Leninist line and what a neo-revisionist line is on the principal contradiction in Canada. From an organisation which admitted only a few months ago that it knew virtually nothing about the history of the Canadian and world communist movement to being experts on CPC(M-L), experts on the nature of modern revisionism (which they said a few months back was not even a significant factor in Canadian communist politics), experts on China, experts on international relations in an extremely complicated and complex world situation. What method do they use to acquire all this instant knowledge? What is the source of their ideas and conclusions? Their method is the old method, the method of apriori thinking; the source of their conclusions is their own private opinions which are distorted by their private interests, and have nothing whatever to do with either the objective world or communist revolution.

But by far the best teacher by negative example to leap out naked and unashamed into the arena of communist politics is the Montreal organisation, MREQ. Every old method, every old habit and style of the modern revisionists is concentrated and crystalised in the "Introduction" to MREQ's pamphlet, "Impotent Shrills of an Organisation Called MREQ".

First of all they actually brag that they began this enterprise with their minds made up. They know, have known and will know for all time by a stroke of genius that CPC(M-L) is, was and forever more will be counter-revolutionary. Amen.

They say: "MREQ has never considered CPC(M-L) a genuine party and we have always opposed them in our mass work." Now "never" and "always" is a long time. CPC(M-L) has a history. MREQ has a history. Nothing is said of this in the introduction — just that MREQ has always known that CPC(M-L) is not a "genuine party". Fine.

What do they conclude from this? "Moreover, once we started struggling to build a Marxist-Leninist organisation, it became clear that our work in exposing CPC(ml) was not sufficient and that detailed research was necessary." (p. 6) Now any scientific minded person will immediately say if you have already reached your conclusion where is your detailed research, the study and investigation of the facts from which you derived the truth? Now of course MREQ, like any historical idealist, must abstract a situation from its concrete circumstance. Why did Nigel Morgan apriori discover Hardial Bains was a CIA agent? Because Hardial Bains had hit this

reactionary right in front of the masses and revealed his bankruptcy, his essentially anti-communist ideology and anti-communist line. When did the modern revisionists leap into print to tell the world they had discovered CPC(M-L) was an agent of imperialism? Right after the Party had made a significant impact on the masses in the October 1972 election, after the Partisan Organisation and Chulima Collective united with the Party, and more directly after the Party hit Mr. Kashtan's reactionary treasonous line of sell-out to Soviet social-imperialism in January 1973. Now MREQ has leaped recklessly into the fray. Why? Because during the mass movement of students in Quebec during the fall and winter of 1974-75 the Party's political line and organisational efforts greatly undermined MREQ's consistently opportunist position.

The Party advanced the political line: Let Marxist-Leninists unite; let the revolutionary anti-imperialist students unite; let all the students unite. Let us build the Party, build the anti-imperialist united front, build the self-defense organisation of the students. MREQ's political line consistently was: let us split the Marxist-Leninists over "ideological debates"; let us use the anti-imperialist middle section of students to stop organising either an anti-imperialist united front or the defence organisation of the students. At that time the Party also entered into a vigorous and lively polemic against the political line and theories advanced by MREQ. As a guide to these polemics the Party stated clearly as follows: "We have merely answered attacks on ourselves and defended ourselves against all sorts of revisionist and opportunist slanders but we do not believe that 1. just because there are disagreements, we have joined opposing camps, and 2. that once disagreements arise, they are permanent and eternal. We believe that disagreements can be straightened out and clarified if the Marxist-Leninists persist in pointing out one another's errors by joining one party and waging vigorous struggle there. Building one's own fiefdom and paying attention to only the narrow interests of one's own organisation is extremely detrimental to the growth and development of the revolutionary movement. At the same time, we do not advocate unity at all costs, that is unity with revisionists and opportunists of various hues." (PCDN, Vol. 4, No. 81, Dec. 16, 1974) The Party continued to polemicise against MREQ's wrong lines until January 18, 1975.

But MREQ can not possibly grasp the objectivity of this phenomenon. Like Nigel Morgan they have already reached their apriori conclusion. The source of their misfortune is that CPC(M-L) is counter-revolutionary. In denouncing the Party, the very first reason they give to prove its counter-revolutionary nature is that "a large number of people have

been abused by this organisation." This is definitely true. We abuse Trudeau and his lackey government; we abuse the police and the whole fascist state apparatus; we abuse William Kashtan, William Stewart and Nigel Morgan. In short we abuse all the hardened chieftains of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, and all the hardened opportunist allies of these two superpowers in our country. Now if MREQ felt abused by CPC(M-L) for our polemics against them, why not give us back tit-for-tat scientific refutation of our wrong political lines or ideological stance? For the same reason that William Stewart was not interested in answering our arguments against Kashtan's Moscow speech. He could not do so on scientific grounds. Hence his wild assertions. And MREQ has no modesty in telling the world that what modern revisionism has to say about CPC(M-L) can be matched and anted up one by themselves. "CPC(ml)'s line is nothing but an insidious witches' brew of opportunism and is a fundamentally counter-revolutionary organisation. It is totally foreign to the spirit and practice of Marxism-Leninism and is a group which has denigrated and slandered the image of communism in the eyes of the masses, misled struggles, ruined the lives of many potentially good militants, and generally acted as splitters and wreckers of the mass and vanguard movements." (p.6) Fine.

But MREQ has forgotten one detail. CPC(M-L) exists in this world whether they like it or not, and we will set a few things straight. For example MREQ says, "a number of people have wondered whether CPC (M-L) was founded by the CIA or the KGB. We have not uncovered any documentary evidence of this." (Ibid., p. 103) Just who wonders MREQ does not say. Nigel Morgan used to wonder whether the Internationalists were CIA agents and guess who reassured his suspicions? The KGB in Moscow, in the summer of 1965. MREQ covers up the fact that the KGB is well represented in Canada by the revisionists and other opportunists of the MREQ-type, and that they have a whole apparatus working for them in our country with travel agencies, trading companies, and you name it. But MREQ has no concern about Soviet social-imperialist meddling in Canada. Let me tell MREQ who else used to wonder. When the Internationalists re-organised in Montreal in 1968, the notorious anti-communist gossip-columnist, "Fitz", in the **Montreal Gazette** asserted in his column with no equivocation that "according to confidential Washington sources" the McGill Student Movement and the Internationalists are "backed by the CIA as a means of spreading confusion and dissension in the Canadian New Left movement." MSM and the Internationalists, claims Fitz, "are encouraged by the CIA to infiltrate and disorganise leftist organisations here." (Fitz, "On and Off the Record",

photostated in **McGill Student**, Vol. 1, No. 6, November 5, 1968) How about that! Morgan with his inside track in Moscow, and Fitz with his inside track in Washington both wondered about the CIA and the Internationalists and both had their curiosity satisfied. But it doesn't end here. No sir, there is yet to come a professor with a "scholarly reputation as a Marxist historian" who also wondered about the Internationalists and the CIA. Eugene Genovese, who was thoroughly exposed as a racist and a fascist by the Sir George Williams Movement during the struggle against racism there in 1968-69, also had an inside track. To where? Peking. "I have good contacts in Peking"; and from these he concludes, "they're (the Internationalists) agents of anti-communist governments ... I am using the term CIA as a kind of shorthand." (Dorothy Eber, **The Computer Centre Party**, Tundra Books, Montreal, 1969, p. 105) Nigel Morgan, with his inside track to Moscow; "Fitz" with his "confidential Washington sources"; and Genovese with his "good contacts in Peking": all three of them notorious anti-communists, all wondered about the CIA and the Internationalists, and all had their suspicions confirmed — Morgan to protect exposure of the revisionists by the Internationalists, Fitz to protect his class allies in the New Left, Genovese to protect his career as a "Marxist historian".

Now, MREQ, when did you begin to "wonder" about the CIA and CPC(M-L). In the summer of 1971 when you became part of the CIA Operation Chaos to divide the Canadian communist movement. Look at MREQ's record in this Operation Chaos from 1971 to 1972: **a)** they themselves came out of a split from MEQ, the Party student organisation; **b)** the bookstore Livres et Progressiste et Periodique Ltee. was taken over by fraud and turned into Librairie Progressiste in order to split the communist movement; **c)** the Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Movement was split with a clique forming Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Committee; **d)** Indian Progressive Study Group was split with a clique forming Indian People's Association now re-organised as the Indian People's Association of North America. In addition the Montreal branch of the Canadian Friends of China was taken over by Operation Chaos, as well as the Mouvement Progressiste Italo-Quebecois which they liquidated. MREQ now wants to mystify its past, cover up its tracks. They play their little trick of just "dropping" the old lie about the CIA, and then pretend to be above all these rumours. But let me tell MREQ — you gentlemen, just like Morgan for the KGB, and Fitz and Genovese for the CIA, are the CIA in Canada. It is MREQ which is part of Operation Chaos, and the facts are right before our eyes; they actually did split the communist movement and created maximum chaos



and confusion in the revolutionary ranks. And now we have this yellow journal of their's. Who is going to believe this is "Marxism-Leninism"? This is straight forward splittism, slandering and rumour mongering, elevated to the level of political "theory".

Then there is Dave Paterson with his little mimickery of MREQ: "I am not here repeating the old rumour of Bains being an agent of the CIA or the FBI or the Soviet revisionists. I know of no evidence whatever to lend credibility to these charges." ("Ravings of a Man Named Dave Paterson", **Mass Line**, Vol. 6 & 7, Number 56, August 15, 1975, p.20) Excuse us while we laugh at your naivete, Paterson. These "when did you stop beating your wife" innuendoes are written for school children, or childish gossip mongers. Not content to drop the CIA rumour in his trickster manner, Paterson also passes on the **Toronto Star's** slanders about Joe Burton infiltrating our Party. This is also a joke. How do you infiltrate CPC(M-L)? Even Allmand and his RCMP security desk admit they cannot infiltrate the Party. Agents can only infiltrate sects and circles. MREQ is a sect; Paterson is a circle. They're infiltrated by the state, not CPC(M-L). That is why MREQ and Paterson play the role of splitters, intriguers and conspirators. They are sectarians and the natural vehicle for Operation Chaos to do its dirty work throughout Canada. They are host to an endless stream of CIA agents coming from down south carrying out their dastardly splitting and wrecking activities in the communist movement in Canada.

But let Dave Paterson, like MREQ, try to explain his role in Operation Chaos of splitting the Canadian communist movement. Let both MREQ and Paterson try to account for the dubious backgrounds of these U.S. citizens they have in their sects and circles. How is it these U.S. "new leftists" who MREQ and Paterson have in their pockets are the most virulently anti-CPC(M-L), the most sectarian splitters and gossip mongers? Paterson is well-known for his jaunts back and forth to the U.S. to confer with this dubious U.S. expert on the Canadian revolution, and some others somewhere else. Of late these Operation Chaos splitters have been taking jaunts to Europe to get an inside track on CPC(M-L) there. Recently one of Paterson's comrades in the west returned quite happy to discover from a chat with some dubious character in London that Comrade Bains is a revisionist. All of this is the worst aspect of the reactionary style. Chairman Mao teaches us: **Practise Marxism, not revisionism; Unite, don't split; be open and above board, don't intrigue and conspire.** What do MREQ, Paterson and all the other teachers by negative example do? — practice revisionsim, split, intrigue and conspire. But then they all agree that Mao Tsetung Thought is not the international doctrine of the



modern proletariat, nor is it suitable and mandatory for the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries. MREQ and Dave Paterson should be aware that Marxist-Leninists of this country know who are CIA and KGB agents and that they are all to be found in the holy alliance of the "left", the nestling ground for all anti-Canadian anti-people elements.

I conclude this portion by giving a quotation from **Mass Line** #55 on the role of the RCMP in splitting the communist movement:

"(9) The current campaign for the unity of the Marxist-Leninists dates back to the fall of 1972 (and before that to 1968) when two organisations in Vancouver, the Partisan Organisation and the Chullima Collective, joined the Party on the basis that there can only be one Marxist-Leninist Party in a country and that all Marxist-Leninists must join and build such a Party. After their initiative, New Morning Collective joined the Party, followed by some CAPS in Quebec as well as several individuals from places all across Canada. This entire trend was hated by the police who went around escalating its slander campaign against the Party in order to disrupt the growing unity of the Marxist-Leninists.

The class basis of disruption of unity of the Marxist-Leninists is infiltration of the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists by the petty bourgeoisie. During the period of general economic crisis, some petty bourgeois take the road of their brand of revolutionism and infiltrate the Marxist-Leninists. These individuals are extremely prone to the rumours and gossips spread by the police. While the police are the origin of the campaign to split the Marxist-Leninists, petty bourgeois elements become their instruments. During the current campaign to support the struggle of the Anishinabe people, the petty bourgeoisie revolutionists repeated every slander issued by the RCMP in order to liquidate the developing unity between the Native people and the working class. Hundreds of examples can be given whereby those individuals who call themselves "Marxist-Leninists" are actually the ones doing maximum damage to the cause of the working and oppressed people. Not to grasp how the RCMP operates is objectively to go over to the side of the enemy.

It is our firm belief that the entire propaganda that **THERE IS NO PARTY** originates from the police. It is the same propaganda, in new garb, of the line propagated in the 1960's that **THERE IS NO NEED FOR A PARTY**. Currently, we have seen some tracts which have come out to say **THAT WE HAVE TO BUILD "A PARTY"**. All these lines are erroneous and originate from the RCMP. Let us explain to you why. A revolutionary party of the proletariat based on revolutionary theory is not the private property of anyone and does not come into being as a result of the wishes of a few individuals. It is the outcome of the historical process. After the

rise of modern revisionism in Canada, several people attempted to organise a Marxist-Leninist Party. These people made the attempts by calling upon all Marxist-Leninists to unite. When Progressive Workers Movement was founded in 1964, they issued a general call and Marxist-Leninists responded to this general call. We were supporters of PWM for several years. After PWM died, we contacted Marxist-Leninists all across Canada and Quebec and called upon them to form the Party. Many responded and joined at the founding. Many joined later. And those who degenerated or lost faith in Marxism-Leninism left and sank into obscurity. But the key point is that there was a general call given and the Marxist-Leninists responded to it. It is only petty bourgeois revolutionists who — instead of uniting into one Marxist-Leninist organisation — stick to the line of private property and conspiracy, form their cliques and never issue their calls to everyone, and never strive to unite with others on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and Marxist-Leninist political line. Such petty bourgeois revolutionism is the enemy of the Marxist-Leninists, of the working class and oppressed people and is a collaborator of the RCMP.” (**Mass Line**, No. 55)

The concentrated expression of the reactionary style, all of its worst features, are exposed in Jack Scott’s diatribe printed as an appendix of MREQ’s pamphlet. How excellent to see this old fogey with his long history of splitting, conspiring and intriguing, telling his lies and slanders with these little anti-communist children gathered at his feet. But like all reactionary monsters and demons, Jack Scott’s lies and slanders leap out to expose his anti-communist soul, and his history as a political swindler and double dealer. In order to analyse this reactionary style in detail and clarify the splittist role he has played in the past ten years it is necessary to go through his diatribe sentence by sentence, and so I ask for the reader’s patience as we cut into the heart of this political corpse, and deal with, in order, point by point, what this charlatan and fraud has to say.

“I was twice invited to be national chairman of Hardial Bain’s organisations.” An outright lie, and already the man is trying to cover his tracks by mystifying everything, obscuring the objective politics of class struggle, and launching into his favorite method of fighting, the politics of personal abuse and discrediting others. Note also that these opportunists can’t even repeat each other’s lies correctly. MREQ introduces Scott by saying how “CPC(ml) approached him with an offer of the post of CPC(ml) National Secretary”. Scott never mentions “national secretary”; one lie is simply converted into another lie in the careless lazy manner characteristic of all opportunists.

“The first time was when the Progressive Workers was still in ex-

istence.” This is also a lie. We shall see how the liar exposes himself. “The Canadian Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) had had a preliminary central committee meeting in Montreal.” The CCM(M-L) never had a central committee. Nor did its leading body ever meet in Montreal. At this time there was a separate organisation for Marxist-Leninists in Quebec, quite a well-known fact in the Canadian communist movement, and certainly known to Scott.

“Jamie Reid came to Vancouver to offer me the national chairmanship of this organisation.” Another lie, which begins to expose his system of lies: first of all Jamie Reid has never offered the chairmanship of anything to Jack Scott. But note. He says PWM was still in existence; it is a fact, which he doesn’t mention, that he was chairman of PWM. Did CCM(M-L) not know this fact? How did this alleged offer come out of the sky? We shall see.

“I rejected it on the bases (sic) that they did not have any leadership of the revolutionary movement to offer anyone.” Here a bit more of his soul is exposed. Yes, the Internationalists and CCM(M-L) did have the leadership of the revolutionary movement, and this was what rubbed his ego in 1969, and agitates him today. Look at Jack Maley’s speech in the Appendix where he says, “When I returned to PWM in early 1969 (he had been out of town working in construction — editor) the Internationalists were being discussed at every meeting. Some of Jack Scott’s close adherents ... were boasting of their ‘revolutionary’ actions undertaken against Hardial Bains’ people. No other struggle — except the one for ‘pure’ Canadian unions — had so much attraction for these people. Any move, any offer for common meetings to discuss unity and common actions was side-stepped.” (See Historical Articles and Documents, item No. 5) Brian Sproule, who was influenced by PWM, but had friendly relations with the Vancouver Student Movement, was told by Jack Scott’s flunkey to “leave VSM or else.” (See Item No. 6) D.J. O’Donnell, another Vancouver militant, reports “The only discipline of CLAM (Jack Scott’s anti-communist student sect at UBC in 1969-70) was that it not talk to the Internationalists.” (See item No. 7) Not only did the Internationalists and CCM(M-L) have the leadership of the revolutionary movement to offer, the masses were actively seeking that leadership. This is why Scott and his arrogant sectarian cronies were running around in a flap brow-beating people and carrying on their political double-dealings.

“I told them that the workers of this country would develop the revolutionary movement and produce their own leaders.” This is a lie. Jack Scott has never given his straight-forward views to the communists;

in fact whenever he has met Comrade Bains he acts like an ingratiating child. He has no inner strength, conviction, dignity or culture whatsoever. Furthermore the revolutionary workers' movement like the revolutionary students' movement, and all the revolutionary peoples' movements do indeed produce their own leaders. They inevitably produce their own charlatans as well. In the course of social practice the charlatans are exposed and shunned by the masses, and the revolutionary leaders are warmly supported. Scott came forward in 1964 to pronounce himself a leader; in a few years he had exposed himself as a thorough charlatan, incapable of leading anything, and was heading for political extinction. The Internationalists were re-organising and actually leading. This is what drove Scott into a frenzy and accounts for his double-dealing politics in this 1969 period as we shall see.

"It was not their's to offer." Indeed, revolutionary leadership was their's to offer; Comrade Bains won this leadership, the respect and confidence of the masses, through his actual social practice at UBC in organising the Internationalists and advancing the whole politics and cultural life of the campus over the period from 1963 to 1965 and after. While Scott has exposed his inability to lead the revolutionary workers Comrade Bains had proven his ability to lead the revolutionary students. This is what irks the petty competitive soul of Scott and drives him to empty bluster and bragging in front of little reactionary school children. Is he fishing for an "offer" from them? What little schemes and aspirations does this old windbag have in mind by telling these children his little stories? I'm sure I don't know. What is clear is that every class offers leadership to those who want to lead. Revolutionaries offer leadership to those who want to lead revolution; reactionaries offer leadership to those who want to lead counter-revolution. Whatever offers Scott is fishing for from MREQ and others are reactionary offers. Scott once fished in CPC(M-L) to see if he could catch an "offer" to lead reaction. He caught nothing. Now he's fishing in waters teeming with reactionaries, and he will no doubt catch his offer. Does he expect revolutionaries to applaud?

"The second time was when they set up the CPC(M-L)." When and where was this? The man tries to mystify everything to the extreme. CPC(M-L) was set up right under this arrogant sectarian's nose in December 1969 in Vancouver. In fact, Dave Danielson, a genuine veteran communist worker, telephoned Jack Scott to invite him to attend and join the young revolutionaries, to which Scott responded with arrogant sneers and derision. Scott the liar and windbag doesn't even know when or where CPC(M-L) was "set up".

"If you go back to the reports of the first convention (which can be found in **PCDN**) you'll notice that they elected all the officers with the exception of national chairman." What first convention? When? Where? What issues of **PCDN**? The founding conference of CPC(M-L) took place at the year-end conference in Vancouver in 1969. There a draft political report was presented and discussed, then reproduced and sent to all units of CCM(M-L) where it was discussed thoroughly for three months.

On March 31, 1970 a meeting of CCM (M-L) dissolved the old organisation and organised a new central organising committee to build the Party. The First **Congress** of CPC(M-L) was held from May 15-22, 1971 in Guelph, Ontario. The Second Congress of CPC(M-L) was held in Montreal in March 1973. So why is this old wretched wanderer Scott being so elusive. What "first convention"? Furthermore the old fool can't even investigate the fact there was no **PCDN** in December 1969, nor in May 1971. **PCDN** had been stopped in March 1971, and resumed as **People's Canada Daily News Release** in September 1971. So where are these mysterious reports of Scott's mysterious convention? No list of officers was given, nor is there any reference to a "missing" national chairman.

"I had a copy of the reports before I heard from them and I laughed and told my friends that I was sure that they were going to be here to see me." Here the man is caught! How did he get the reports? Who gave them to him? How did he have a premonition someone was going to visit him? All this mystery he evokes is to cover his tracks. Is Scott an astrologer? No. Scott simply wasted the time and money of others to feign political seriousness, in order to play his double-dealing tricks and split the communist movement.

"Sure enough, the next day, I think it was, Arnold August and another one of them knocked at the door." Such precision. "The next day" — of what year? decade? Are you sure Jack Scott that it wasn't a telephone call. And that it wasn't you who went to knock on the door on the "den of iniquity" on Joyce Road which you wrote about in your little poison pen letter? Are you sure Arnold August never came to pick you up so you could meet with Comrade Bains in order that you could carry on with your double-dealing tricks, sneaking around to pick up some credibility to save you from political extinction? Think it over, maybe these questions will jog some facts out of your senile memory.

"(By the way, I had been invited to the founding convention and they had even offered me a return airplane ticket to attend their meeting. I refused and gave them back the ticket)." He crawls into his parenthesis here and exposes a little bit more of his string of lies. First he had the report, then he expected someone to knock on his door, then he



remembers "by the way" that the Party had invited him to some mysterious meeting. Now note the internal contradictions of his grammar. He was "offered" a ticket; he refused; then he "gave them back the ticket". If he refused the "offer", the meaning he intends to convey, why would he have to give back the "ticket". An offer and ticket are two different things. The truth is he accepted the "offer"; refused to complete his part of the agreement, namely to go to the meeting, and then "gave ... back the ticket" which he had accepted with the offer. Thus the liar traps himself.

"They said the Central Committee had unanimously decided that they wanted me for national chairman." Another lie — there was no central committee meeting. This is just a fraudulent story to puff himself up with self-importance in order to impress these little children gathered at his feet.

"I replied, 'no thanks!' However, I not only turned them down but I was critical of them." Here the charlatan nature is more exposed. Not only did this wheeler-dealer not turn down an offer which was never made to him; but he has never once given his political criticisms of the Party. Indeed, he has continually claimed to agree with the political line, and oppose the "form", the "style" of the Party. If he had the manhood, a communist worker's simple dignity to say freely what was on his mind to Comrade Bains, or any one else, he might have accomplished something in life. But he is a thorough revisionist, a cowardly person, who refuses to fight on the basis of an integrated world outlook, on the basis of political line, on a scientific, objective basis in class struggle. Hence his endless stories, gossips, lies, his intrigues and conspiracies, his double-dealings, and his eventual and continuous self-exposure as a charlatan in front of the masses.

"From then on the differences between us became sharper, especially as they became crazier (their boasting about arrests, their so-called 'carrying Marxism-Leninism to the working class'...)." Even this point is wrong. The differences between Jack Scott and the PWM, and Comrade Bains and the Internationalists go back to the 1963-4 period. The contradiction has its origins at the very beginning and the struggle between Scott's arrogant sectarianism to split the people, and Comrade Bains' revolutionary largeness of mind to unite the people in struggle against the main enemy while sorting out various questions of theory, dates from the time when Comrade Bains sought out the PWM and Jack Scott in his desire to unite with the anti-revisionist forces in Vancouver. As for the differences becoming greater, of course. Jack Scott in this period was giving lectures from his rocking chair on his criticisms

of **Peking Review**, and his theory of "freedom to criticise" Chairman Mao Tsetung, and denouncing the "cult of the individual" of Chairman Mao. CPC(M-L) was taking Mao Tsetung Thought to the masses, and being viciously attacked by the state and their revisionist agents in the mass movement. From the position of a comfortable rocking chair, serving time in jail in order to propagate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is "crazy". Revolution to a counter-revolutionary is "crazy". Every class has its likes and dislikes; its ideas of sanity and insanity.

"The whole thing sharpened up so much that I became their main attacking point." This is another braggard lie to impress children with how important this corpse in search of a grave is. Where did all this "attack" take place? In the central Party literature there was only one article, and that one was of a theoretical nature, written with a reference to Jack Scott. Even that one did not mention his name, but referred to him indirectly as a "Vancouver labour leader".

"Why did they want me?" I have to laugh at this pretentious old reprobate. What Scott means is why did he want them. The answer is simple. He wanted to run around in various circles; pick up some credibility as a revolutionary; and resurrect himself from political obscurity.

"My speculation of this is based on very substantial evidence." Excuse me while I laugh at you again, Mr. Scott, sir, but you claim such authority as a Marxist-Leninist, and give lectures to people to read articles from **Peking Review** on aprioristic thinking, and here you are confessing to the little school children that you are a speculative philosopher. Every Marxist-Leninist knows there are only two types of knowledge, direct or indirect knowledge. Yet Scott is most foggy, vague, lost for detail, about his own direct experience in this world. No wonder he has to "speculate". As for the "evidence" of this speculation, we find it is just more speculation.

"I have been a friend of China for a good many years and have gained some respect among the Chinese comrades." Is that so? Were you a friend of China when you printed the photograph in the October 1966 edition of **Progressive Worker** of the counter-revolutionary revisionist Liu Shao-shi on the presidium to illustrate the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China which was presided over by Chairman Mao Tsetung? Were you a friend of China when you forced the Progressive Workers' cadres to memorize "Self-cultivation" by this revisionist dog? Here is what Jack Maley says about "friendship to China", Mr. Scott: "The only Chinese author studied, and I may say repeatedly, and in great detail, was the man who wrote **How to be a Good Communist**, Liu Shao-shi himself. Time and time again the PWM study circles were forced to defend the theories of that

horrible book.” (See Item No. 5) Or was Jack Scott a friend of China when he was promoting his criticisms of the “language” in **Peking Review**, and advocating a “critical outlook” towards Mao Tsetung Thought? Or maybe Scott was being a friend of China in 1974, the year the Chinese Communist Party reprinted the works of Stalin **On the Opposition**, while Scott was publishing **Two Roads** to denounce the road of the October Revolution, slander Comrade Stalin as a great power chauvinist, and stir up old imperialist lies about antagonistic contradictions between People’s China and the Soviet Union headed by Stalin. Does Scott think that Canadian communists have not heeded Chairman Mao’s teachings about the two-line struggle within China, about the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat? Precisely through such struggle swindlers and double dealers like Scott can float themselves. Who is Jack Scott friends with in China, with what line and what class? Is he speaking as a Marxist-Leninist, as a spokesman of the communist movement or as a wanderer? He openly gossips about how it was his publication of **Two Roads** which won him favour and promoted him in China. What China? Chairman Mao’s China? Your friendship, Scott, is the friendship of a real enemy.

“(Whether this is deserved or not is another matter)”. Here the scoundrel crawls back into the refuge of his parenthesis; his conscience is pricked. This is precisely the question which is being sorted out in the international communist movement, Mr. Scott, what is deserved and by what class. You treacherously try to avoid the class struggle, the two-line struggle in the international communist movement, by playing your trickster role of hiding in the mass movement of the people’s friendship organisation, which you reduce to a sectarian clique in order to advance your position in life, and from which you wage your slander and gossip campaign against the communists. Like all liquidationists you neither build the Party and fight out the two-line struggle within the discipline of the organisation, nor do you build the mass democratic movement on a communist non-sectarian basis. Instead you use the “broad section” of anti-imperialist, generally progressive forces as an amorphous loose base wherein you carry on your intrigues and conspiracies with impunity.

“And this is well known to Bains”. Yes it is. Let me tell you something, Mr. Scott, our Comrade Bains also knows one or two things more about your “friendship” with China, than you let on. In the period from 1967 to 1973 why weren’t you beating your breast about being a “friend” of China? Why was the publishing of **Two Roads** so important for your new “friendship”. Don’t be impatient Mr. Scott. The two-line struggle is far from over. We shall see who is a friend of whom, and what is “well known

to Comrade Bains”.

“Thus, if they got me, this would be like getting a passport to China.” How about that! For Scott’s information the Canadian government issues passports not Mr. Scott, nor the People’s Republic of China. The Canadian government arbitrarily deprives revolutionaries of their democratic rights; and refuse to grant them their citizenship and passports. This is well known to Scott; and it’s well known that Comrade Bains is one of those attacked by the Canadian state on this front. But if Comrade Bains needs a passport it is not to China, nor can Mr. Scott be of any assistance. Jack Scott’s attitude is an embarrassment to the Canadian people, especially to the communists. For someone who these reactionary school children call a “veteran militant communist” to speak this way about this friendship with China is a sacrilege of communism, and an insult to the cultured and friendly attitude of the Canadian people in their international relations with other countries.

“If I had joined CPC(M-L), on the basis of my contacts with the Chinese they presumed that the Chinese would think this is a good organisation because Scott was joining and he is a Marxist-Leninist...” Scott is a truly sly old dog. It seems he is trying to evoke the embarrassed sympathy of the communists that a man could be such a pathetic, self-deluded fool to think anyone would view Scott as an arbitrator of who is, or who is not a Marxist-Leninist. Everyone knows there are social classes and class struggle, and that only the protracted history of this struggle in Canada will show who is or who is not a communist leader. But this sly old trickster is fishing. He is advertising himself in the opportunist circles across Canada as the “man with the passport.” He is saying to them, listen you young upstarts in Toronto and Montreal, I may be an old dog, but I have a passport to China in my pocket. I “blocked” CPC(M-L) because they wouldn’t make any opportunist deals with me and insisted on fighting out political lines, so watch out. Same with all this talk about “offers” of National Chairman. Everyone has their interests in this world; there is no action without motivation. Yes, he is motivated by spite to discredit and abuse (CPC(M-L), but a political swindler always has something in mind for enhancing his own petty interests. This is why he engages in this disgusting conceit, this seemingly mindless self-promotion. This is the political talk of a wanderer, a political huckster, charlatan, and counter-revolutionary wind-bag.

“(At one time they went around telling people that I had joined the party which was not true of course. Some friends then said that if Scott has joined, the organisation must have something good about it. ‘We will join too.’ The reaction I liked best showed some independent initiative. They



said that if it was true that Scott had joined them he must be out of his skull.)” Note how he crawls into his parenthesis again in order to abstract himself from the action, lift himself off the earth. He uses the perspectives of the omniscient story-teller, as a device whereby he tries to wipe out his meandering tracks as he wanders from one circle to another, the vagabond, travelling one man show. But Scott has left tracks despite his efforts to eliminate them. In 1971-72 he was criss-crossing the country in order to resurrect himself politically, and used the Party for this end. He openly bragged about his factionalist intentions among his cronies and communalist friends. Comrade Brian Sproule who was living in his house at the time reports: “Just before I moved into Scott’s house he made a speaking tour in Eastern Canada ... Scott came from this tour and said that he had met various CPC(M-L) comrades and he was saying that CPC(M-L) seemed to be on the right path, that it had some good things about it, with some young people around it but it had a problem and that was Har-dial Bains. He said as CPC(M-L) grew Bains’ influence would diminish and he would gradually be pushed aside.”

Here is the real Jack Scott, the conspirator and intriguer, with his obsession to split the communist movement, and reduce CPC(M-L) into another sect in order to liquidate it. How to do this? Eliminate the Marxist-Leninist leadership of Comrade Bains. How to do this? Feign friendship and desire to unite, while making political deals and fishing around various opportunist circles behind the back of the Party. This is the method used by all charlatan splitters and wreckers in the communist movement. Among those with whom he conspires are two groups of opportunists. One group says CPC(M-L) is “changing”, it is becoming “nice”, “sensible” — i.e. liberal bourgeois. They have some hopes, watching the manoeuvres of their master Mr. Scott, that they will usurp the Party, remove Bains, and turn CPC(M-L) into another revisionist or neo-trotskyist sect. Another group of opportunists has no such illusions; if Scott thinks he can infiltrate and split that communist fortress, they say, he is “out of his skull.” Today of course the charlatan Scott, who in those days past was bragging about how he precisely would do just that, pretends he knew all along the second camp of opportunists was correct. All from the heavenly sanctuary of his parenthesis!

“Having lost me, they then started making really vicious and slanderous attacks on me.” What Scott means is that having lost the opportunity of doing what he had highest hopes to do, namely have the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party “gradually pushed aside”, so he could split and wreck CPC(M-L), he had to satisfy himself with getting as much for himself as he could. What he salvaged himself from political



extinction, and picked up some credibility as "Marxist-Leninist" again. Second, he managed to pacify a little group of school children at UBC to make sure they would never make any move in their life and do something useful for the Canadian people and workers and oppressed nations in the world. This is what Jack Scott got out of his double-dealing tricks. CPC(M-L) only got one thing, some excellent education from a teacher by negative example.

"All their newspapers with extensive attacks were mailed to the Chinese embassy with attention drawn to the articles on me." Here his monster really jumps out. The Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPC(M-L) held on March 27, 1972 in Vancouver, and duly publicised in the Party press, adopted a resolution on the history of the relationship between Jack Scott and CPC(M-L). This resolution was an inner-Party document, but a full copy of the resolution was written up as a letter to Jack Scott and handed to him in person. The Party presented its criticism to him in an open and above board manner, and is printing its views for the first time in the appendix of this issue of **Mass Line**. (See Item #11) Scott who claims to be so much in the "know" about the Party had no clue as to what was going on. Comrade Robert A. Cruise was elected National Secretary, and Comrade Bains was not listed as having any formal position.

Comrade Cruise, as National Secretary, went to the University of British Columbia and officially repudiated Jack Scott's line on the Luddites of the 19th century. Scott is an anarcho-syndicalist and romanticises and promotes in a historical idealist manner the pre-communist and anti-communist tendencies in the workers' movement. The Luddites were the organised handicraft workers, mainly weavers and spinners, whose handicraft production was being destroyed by the new industrial mode of production. For a period, the two modes co-existed one with the other. The wives and children of the weavers were driven into the mills to work as factory hands in the new industrial mode, while the men desperately tried to compete with this new mode which was driving down the prices because it consumed far less socially necessary labour time than the old mode. In this transitional period in which the small handicraft producer was being expropriated from the ownership of his means of production, they revolted and attacked the new industrial mode by simply smashing the machines, and "unplugging" the steam engines in factories. This was a pre-industrial proletarian form of class struggle, and in its essence reactionary, despite the justness and heroic aspects of these struggles. Scott promotes these Ludditte struggles in the same way he promotes the crude, anarcho-syndicalist, a utopian sectarian, in the Lassallean-

Proudhon tradition. To take this stand in the 1970's, the era of Mao Tsetung Thought, is of course, ultra-reactionary and counter-revolutionary. All of this comrade Cruise carefully explained at UBC, and a report of his meeting was printed in the **Vancouver Student**.

A responsible person on the editorial board of the **Vancouver Student** went to see Jack Scott, showed him the article by Robert A. Cruise repudiating Scott's line on Ludditism, and asked Scott to write his views in order to broaden and deepen the polemic. Scott, who hypocritically proposed among the opportunists to create "an ideal situation in an intellectual discussion" by having "opposing sides to concern themselves with the task of illuminating the issues, and bringing to light the truth", refused to "illuminate the issues" or bring his light to the "truth" about the Luddites, and scorned the opportunity of writing his views in **Vancouver Student**. (Jack Scott, "Reviews" **Canadian Revolution**, Vol. 1, No. 2. August/September 1975, p. 39)

The one other "extensive attack" printed in the newspapers of CPC (M-L) is one entitled "A Study of 'How Engels Criticised Duhring's Apriorism'" by Joseph Redpath, and is an excellent theoretical refutation of Jack Scott (although it; does not refer to him by name). It is reprinted as item number 13 in the appendix, and should be studied in detail to grasp the philosophical outlook of Scott, and all the opportunist chieftains. It came into being because the Vancouver Secretary of CPC(M-L) went to visit Jack Scott about this slander and rumour mongering attack against the Party. Scott arrogantly told the Vancouver Secretary that CPC(M-L) should read the article in **Peking Review** entitled "How Engels Criticised Duhring's Apriorism". CPC(M-L) followed Jack Scott's line on this question, and as a result showed how in fact Scott himself is the apriorist thinker, and thoroughly exposed the philosophical roots of his obscurantist idealism.

Scott's idealism and metaphysics is used by him, as by all reactionaries to obscure history, and mystify everything in order to protect his reactionary self-interest.

A most perfect example of this is the monster which leaps out of Scott's head with respect to "newspapers" with articles allegedly attacking Scott being mailed to the Chinese embassy. The Party sends its newspapers to forty-three different countries in case Scott would like to know; China is one of those countries. But this monster which jumped out from Scott is his whole criminal activity of writing and mailing poison-pen letters. When he left the revisionists he composed a whole series of very vicious and slanderous letters about various revisionist leaders to discredit them through gossips about their personal life. These letters did a great deal of

harm because the revisionist leadership used them to discredit Marxism-Leninism, and the Communist Party of China. Scott tacitly admitted writing these scandal sheets, which he mailed to the homes of many revisionists, including my parents, in an interview with the Vancouver monopoly press. The Party sent Jack Scott its appraisal of him after the Third Plenum in an open and above board manner. But Scott does not fight that way. Instead he composed a poison-pen letter allegedly written by Comrade Bains, and sent it to a New Left paper in Vancouver.

The political focus of the letter is that Scott is very influential in the New Left circles, and that according to the forgery, Comrade Bains "may have to try discrediting him." (See item number 11)

Comrade Brian Sproule's statement provides additional facts to reinforce my charge against Jack Scott. He says:

"Another time I came home and Scott said that the existence of a letter had come to his attention. This letter had been slipped under the door of a certain paper and it was signed H. Scott claimed 'that the letter had to be written by Bains because the letter knew too much.' ...Scott got on the phone and told all sorts of people about the letter. I believe he had a copy which he read over the phone...Scott was the leading promoter of this letter saying that it was virtually written by Comrade Bains." (See item number 6)

How would Scott know that the letter "knew too much", if in fact the "knowledge" contained in it was not a reflection of his own "knowledge"? After all Scott has a great deal of difficulty remembering even the simplest facts about his relations with the Party, but has great clarity at "remembering" the gossip and political line of the forgery. Furthermore, the forged letter itself is identical in form, style and overall content to the one's Scott used to send to the revisionists. Finally a more clever manoeuvre to assume the position of righteous old communist attacked by irreverent degenerate and foreign Devils is hard to conceive. The letter surfaced at exactly the same time that the Party presented Scott its appraisal of him. Scott pursued this line of political skullduggery by sending the one or two articles from CPC(M-L) newspapers to the Chinese Embassy for exactly the same reason, to appear as an embattled old communist veteran attacked by abusive young "ultra-leftists" led by that foreign Devil Bains. From this sanctimonious position he carried his campaign of abuse to discredit the Party. This is Scott's method; of political fighting, and is a concentrated expression of the reactionary style used by all opportunists and reactionaries. They refuse to struggle in an open and above board manner over political line because they can never defeat the iron-clad reasoning of scientific analysis. Hence they do

their maximum to obscure what the issues are, and to mystify history in order to fool and deceive the people.

"Thus, they were not so concerned with undermining whatever influence I might have in Canada, but with undermining any prestige I might have with the Chinese." Listen Jack Scott, CPC(M-L) does not discredit anyone. Our Party fights in class and national struggles of the Canadian people. In the course of those struggles the sectarian likes of Jack Scott, thorough social-chauvinists, zeroes in theory and practically incompetent, come up to split and wreck the united front, and do their best to abuse and discredit the communists and thus carry out fine work for the CIA and RCMP. If Scott had an ounce of shame, how does he explain his lies and slanders nestled inside MREQ's yellow journal. This stuff of their's is the lowest form of abuse, abuse raised to the level of political theory, that I have ever read in the communist movement.

"They obviously wanted to be accepted by China." Listen, Scott, why don't you keep the Chinese out of all this. Stick to Canada; this is where we are fighting imperialism. Quit making all these appeals, as the revisionists have done for five decades, to some arbiter, some absolute authority external to our revolution. On the one hand you reject the authority of Mao Tsetung Thought as the necessary, mandatory theoretical guide to action for the Canadian revolution. On the other, you twist and dodge away from a political fight in two-line struggle over how to advance the Canadian revolution, by vulgarising every issue to some sort of petty squabble which you then run like a little child with to your "friends" in China. You are debasing communism, and you are debasing and muddling up what correct relations should be. CPC(M-L) is a communist party, the political party of the modern proletariat, contingent of the international communist movement and like every party we advocate and work for relations between people and people, government and government, and party and party between our country and the socialist states. Scott mystifies all this; he blurs very necessary lines, in an effort through his informality to push his opportunism and split the communist movement.

"Another reason for wanting me was that they hoped to split the PWM, and get all or most of our members." This is also a big laugh. In May 1968 when the Internationalists were re-organised in Montreal their biggest aspiration was to unite with all Marxist-Leninists in Canada. Likewise a number of the younger militants in PWM like Jack Maley and others wanted to unite with the Internationalists. When Robert A. Cruise invited the PWM to attend the Canadian Student Movement Conference at the year's end in 1968, he received a very warm letter



signed "comradely, Bob Edwards, for PWM" in which he regretted not being able to come, but promised a statement in support of CSM. (See item number 1) In fact two of Scott's student agents, one an ex-Internationalist, did come to Montreal, but fled with their horror stories a day or two later. But the Internationalists stepped up their efforts to unite with the PWM, and in a series of formal meetings and discussions drew up an agreement between them which both sides agreed upon. In this agreement CPC(M-L) agreed to support the **Progressive Worker** as a national Marxist-Leninist magazine, and agreed that the Internationalists in B.C. should come under the discipline of PWM. But Scott continued to play his double dealing tricks as Jack Maley described. Every effort was made to block unity between the Internationalists and the PWM.

In the spring of 1969 the comrades in CCM(M-L) invited Jack Scott, and the PWM to attend the North American Conference of Anti-Imperialist Youth held in Regina from May 7-12, 1969. Scott arrogantly sent a lecture to the youth in the form of a statement but he refused to come there to defend his thesis. Like all arrogant sectarians, Scott is an ignoramus, and a coward, and was deathly afraid of being exposed in front of the youth as a charlatan by Comrade Bains. Nevertheless his statement is profoundly self-exposing document. In it he elevates his sectarian politics to the level of theory. He says:

"The anti-imperialist movement as we said before, must be a forum where, firstly, actions are proposed to oppose imperialism, and secondly where various political philosophies contend and recruit members. A political movement must struggle ideologically for leadership, not impose it." First of all the mass movement of the people invents its own forms of struggle; Marxists learn from them and assist to generalise them without in any way imposing sectarian schemata, or "favorite panacea" worked out in some Jack Scott private library. This line that the anti-imperialist movement is a "forum" is wrong. The revisionists, trotskyists and other sectarians, deathly afraid of releasing the revolutionary energy of the masses, all want to impose their little sectarian schema on the people. Furthermore, they all want to seize hold of a mass motion and throttle it, cater to the lowest level, and divert it from its own ends in the quest to recruit a few members and supporters. Scott advocates this as a "Marxist-Leninist" theory, which is nothing more than a "theory" for parasitising off the mass movement, something Scott has been doing for over ten years. Finally, note Scott's unctuous self-righteous lecture to the youth about "ideological struggle." He at the very same time was dictating to Brian Sproule not to have anything to do with the Internationalists "or else"; and who was dictating to CLAM as their only dis-



cipline, not to talk to the Internationalists, as I have already quoted from D.J. O'Donnel; and who was blocking the revolutionary workers in PWM from meeting with the Internationalists as Jack Maley so resolutely denounced at the Third Consultative Conference of CPC(M-L).

Then suddenly in the November 1969 **B.C. Newsletter**, Jack Scott opened a vicious and slanderous attack on the CCM(M-L) by saying they were fraudulently selling **Progressive Worker**, and were illiciting funds illegally in the name of PWM. This public outburst of a split in the Marxist-Leninist ranks, and with a specific singling out of Comrade Bains as the leading member of CCM(M-L), was a deliberate provocation to set the state against CCM(M-L), just as the revisionists had been doing all along. Ostensibly the reason for this outburst was that a New Left degenerate youth culture paper in Vancouver, the **Georgia Straight**, carried an article saying Jack Scott was Chairman of CSM. The most likely explanation is that Scott himself had the rumour floated there in order to give himself a pretext for his public denunciation of Hardial Bains and also providing a useful piece of information for the police. Had Scott any sentiment for the unity of Marxist-Leninists why would he let an article in an anti-communist newspaper provoke him to make his attack. This is why I accuse him of setting the whole thing up. It fits perfectly in his pattern of doing things, and reflects his motivation to discredit Comrade Bains, who by that time had emerged as a practical Marxist-Leninist organiser in Canada "threatening" Scott's little kingdom and "reputation." In fact there was virtually nothing left of the Progressive Workers Movement in 1969. Scott had liquidated the organisation with the exception of a clique of students, most of them Scott had encouraged to split from the Internationalists in August 1967. As for "getting" PWM members, there is no holding down a communist. Jack Maley explains clearly how he left PWM in bitter disgust and contempt of Scott's anti-communism. How long did it take for him and Comrade Bains to meet and to get to know one another? Two years? Three years? Marxist-Leninists as first nature seek unity with other Marxist-Leninists, seek unity of the people against the handful of common enemies. Only a reactionary seeks to split and divide the communist movement and the masses.

"**Progressive Worker** (the organ of PWM) was widely known." Yes, but where? In government circles? In Jack Scott's basement? "We had over one thousand subscriptions all across Canada and we also sold on newstands." When? In 1969 which is the time Scott makes his accusation about the Internationalists trying to "gobble" PWM up? No, Jack Maley says: "Although there were 3,000 PWM magazines being printed every month, only 100 of these had a local circulation. In other words, the PWM

magazine was no longer the "popular worker's magazine". (See item number 6) Scott tries to obscure history. Yes, **Progressive Worker** was a popular workers' magazine during its early period. The masses indeed looked toward the PWM for leadership. But they received misleadership, and their hopes for a Marxist-Leninist party were dashed by Scott's sectarian splittist politics. When the Internationalists were seeking unity with the PWM it was a spent and dying force. But the Internationalists had a great respect for what it thought were the old communists, and would go to any lengths to make a link with the revolutionary workers in PWM. And who hated this most of all, and did everything possible so that those links would not be forged between the revolutionary students and workers — Jack Scott. So he clung like grim death on to his little clique, until they frittered away chasing their shadows and dreams. At the end they were left with a little magazine with some bird's head munching on a maple leaf! As for numbers of magazines sold, let me tell Jack Scott that CPC(M-L) used to sell more than 3,000 copies of **Mass Line** on the streets when it was a weekly during the 1969-70 period.

"We did have a name and I was known as the editor of the paper." Yes, Scott certainly did have a name — swindler, double-dealer, liquidator, anti-communist, to name a few of the names the communist militants denounced him with when they discovered his true charlatan nature. He was known, alright, as a poison-pen writer, promoter of national chauvinism, splitting in the trade union movement. He was also known to the bourgeois media as a kindly old story teller sitting in his rocking chair decked out in his worker's tee-shirt, a real lumpem-proletarian windbag.

"I personally know a great many people across the country; after all, I have been around the revolutionary movement in Canada for almost half a century." Yes, this is true, "around and around" the revolutionary movement. But never **in** the revolutionary movement. A more apt phrase could not be found to describe this vagabond wanderer, this unsettled quasi-intellectual with his fabulous private library and collection of rare books to stir the heart of any eccentric bourgeois academic. He literally trundles his way from one little communalist clique to another winding his way across the country. As for his "several thousand contacts", Jack Scott you make me laugh at your pretensions. Listen, I used to be one of your "thousands of contacts" when I lived in Edmonton and put up with you. In February 1972 I hustled around with my little communalist clique to gather a meeting for what, 10, 12, people in Edmonton to hear your children's stories about the Winnipeg General Strike, and the fair haired

lady, One Big Union, violated by the Communist Party. At your University of Toronto meeting in October 1971 the CPC(M-L) made up the largest portion of your meeting. That is when you were playing the trickster and using your political double-dealings to advance your credibility. In Ottawa in the summer of 1974 there was a meeting of ten or twelve people; again a number of them were Party people. Jack Scott is just a blow-hard, and is trying his best to create illusions in the minds of some political children under the influence of MREQ, or some other opportunist group. All this advertising is nothing more than Scott trying to wheel and deal in this new coalition of the Holy Alliance of the Left which is falling over itself in a pathetic effort to caricature communism and CPC(M-L).

"All these factors could lead them too (sic) to the totally ridiculous position of inviting someone who was never a member of CPC(M-L), who was not contemplating becoming one, to be national chairman," All right, now I will clarify what this old fogey is talking about since he doesn't want to stumble out of the fog himself. I have already described his attempts to use the Party in the fall of 1971. Scott makes such a big mystery out of the natural course of Marxist-Leninists contacting one another to build the unity of the communist movement. Before Scott exposed himself with his double-dealing tricks, the Party made a number of specific proposals to him. One of these proposals was to be Chairman of the Presidium of the Consultative Conference of the Party. I will quote from the Third Plenum document which explains perfectly what the situation was:

"By offering him a position on the Presidium, we wanted his views to be heard and then we could also give the views of the Party and real class struggle on various questions could take place. The Chairman of the Presidium is in no way the chairman of the Party and all this we fully explained to him. As to membership in the Party, it was quite obvious that he was coming close to the Party in Vancouver and it was only just to invite him to join." (See item number 11)

The Presidium was designed to bring together Party and non-Party friends to have consultations about specific questions affecting the communist movement, and had the specific object in mind of uniting the old, middle-aged and the young Marxist-Leninists across Canada. One proposal was that the Presidium, between consultative conferences (there have been three so far, 1972, 1973, 1974), would edit a Marxist-Leninist theoretical journal which Scott had consistently expressed interest in. This is why he was asked to attend the First Consultative Conference which opened in Toronto, January 1, 1972, and carried on in Montreal on January 8, 1972. He agreed to attend the Conference,

received his airline ticket, then went back on his agreement, and that is why he "gave back the ticket." The conference had nothing whatever to do with the organisational side of the Party, nor did the positions on the Presidium. All his efforts at mystification are to confuse these few simple facts of history?

All of Scott's breast-beating is now the latest fad in Canadian opportunist circles. If you haven't offered at least a position on the CPC(M-L) central committee you have no status in beer hall revolutionary jam sessions. Dave Paterson adds little contribution to mystify everything by saying "several persons, including myself, were offered positions on the central committee of CPC(M-L), an organisation to which we did not even belong." ("The Ravings of a Man Named Dave Paterson", **Mass Line**, Vol. 6 and 7, No. 56, August 1975, p. 17) Like Scott, Paterson also mixes everything up to advance his status. CPC(M-L) never offered Paterson a position on any committee! In discussions with the Partisan Organisation in the fall of 1972, in which he never participated, CPC(M-L) and Partisan Organisation agreed that there would be representatives from Partisan Central Committee on the CPC(M-L) Central Committee in order to share experiences for a brief transitional period. But every member of Partisan Organisation who wanted to join CPC(M-L) had to do so on the basis of his or her revolutionary credentials and nothing else. Paterson, Scott and their whole cabal of bit-players and come-by-chance revolutionaries are putting on airs, and intellectualising in front of one another in a desperate effort to turn their comedy into serious farce.

I am tempted to say something not very nice about these reactionary blow-hards and intellectual windbags as a consequence of hearing a comment from a mutual acquaintance of mine and these opportunists who live in California. This acquaintance said, "well, MREQ has really nailed CPC(M-L) now." I am inclined to change their Christain metaphor of crucifixion to a more homely one. The situation is like a human body infected by some lice, and there is this human hand about to reach out and crush this louse named MREQ. And to crush a few parasitic lice as well. CPC(M-L) is that living body, and is quite prepared to pick off these lice living on the body of revolution in our country. Jack Scott is one of those lice. Three years ago he came up with his poison-pen letter to discredit the Chairman of the Party, Comrade Bains; now three years later he has come up with the drivel in MREQ's pamphlet. In those same three years this living body of CPC(M-L) has quite gloriously upheld the style of fighting a straight forward battle over political line. But you Jack Scott, and your political allies, don't address yourself to any of the political issues facing the Canadian people. You are classical social-fascists. The en-

tire revolutionary movement should be warned that you are the eyes and ears of the state, and the PR men for social-chauvinism and for anti-communism right in the midst of the communist movement. Our Party will carry on sustained, painstaking struggle on every front against you. Marxism-Leninism rose in struggle against opportunism. We are thankful to you for providing us this excellent opportunity to train the revolutionary forces in our country in the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought once again. Comrade Bains, my best teacher by positive example, has repeatedly pointed out to me, that while opportunists on their part use every circumstance to create devil theories to mystify, sow confusion and muddle up everything, their opposition to Marxism-Leninism begins and ends with a mere impotent bluster and abuse. For their part, the Marxist-Leninists use every circumstance to clarify issues, and unify the ranks of the people. I fully agree with this outlook of Comrade Bains. We will carry on our tasks of clarification, while you will continue generating confusion.

In conclusion I thank Jack Scott, just as I thank Nigel Morgan, William Stewart, and many many more. They are all revisionists and charlatans. Without their invaluable assistance as teachers by negative example, I would never have known the likes of them could really exist. They are everything I most enthusiastically want to leave behind; the old world which needs to be destroyed in order for any progress to be made in Canada. I am now a proud candidate member of CPC(M-L), a soldier in a revolutionary party whose mission in life is to smash the imperialist system in our country, and build a new people's Canada free from foreign domination and exploitation of any kind. Only a Party based on the revolutionary theory of Mao Tsetung Thought and organised in the revolutionary style can accomplish such an historic and glorious task. CPC(M-L) is such a Party!

**Long live CPC(M-L)!**

**Long live Mao Tsetung Thought!**

**Down with opportunism!**

**Down with splitters and wreckers!**

**Long live the unity of Marxist-Leninists of the world!**

*By Charles Boylan, Candidate Member of CPC(M-L).*



**HISTORICAL ARTICLES  
AND DOCUMENTS**

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**Letter from Progressive Workers Movement to the Canadian Student Movement dated December 17, 1968.**

Dear Bob,

Unfortunately due to the problem of finances plus the fact none of us are in a position to take time off from work we won't be able to attend the CSM Conferences, etc. However, we wish you every success and would like to send greetings and statement of support to the conference. In interest of time we are taking the liberty of sending our statement shortly. If it is your intention to read out such statements, fine or possibly print it. Please send us a report of events that take place so we can give it some coverage in "Progressive Worker".

In line with the conference I assume there will be a number of students in attendance from several universities in the east. Elaine Wismer and Dave Johansson have with them quite a bit of Vietnamese literature. If this could be given to these students to pass around their campuses it would be a good thing. The NLF Committee here has used it either to raise money for the NLF, or have just given it away as propaganda. Given the activities of certain groups we must all do our utmost to increase the support to the Vietnamese.

In Haste,  
Comradely

Bob Edwards for PWM

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**Statement Issued by the Canadian Internationalists (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement) on February 2, 1969 in Vancouver concerning the Organisation of the Marxist-Leninist Movement in British Columbia and the Attitude Towards Building a Genuinely Marxist-Leninist Party in Canada**

The Progressive Workers Movement (ML) and The Canadian Internationalists held formal discussions on the following topics:

1. The question of Progressive Workers Movement (ML) as the Marxist-Leninist Movement in British Columbia and the centre for all the genuinely Marxist-Leninist individuals,

2. The question of Progressive Worker as the national Marxist-Leninist monthly dedicated to the building of the Marxist-Leninist Party in Canada and an important contribution of Progressive Workers Movement (ML) towards the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party in Canada and

3. The attitude of the Progressive Workers Movement (ML) towards other Marxist-Leninist groups and individuals existing outside of British Columbia.

1. This question was discussed firstly from the standpoint of whether The Canadian Internationalists (Marxist-Leninist Youth and Student Movement) consider the Progressive Workers Movement (ML) as the Marxist-Leninist Movement and if so then why The CI are organising independent of the discipline of PWM. It was pointed out by CI that PWM is a ML movement and that an effort was made in August last year to establish contact with PWM which did not materialise because the individual responsible never delivered the message to PWM. The question of "two centres" arose when both PWM and CI as ML movements are organising in B.C. without "one discipline".

The question requires clarification. The Canadian Internationalists are a national organisation while PWM operates in B.C. only so CI cannot possibly come under PWM discipline. But this does not mean that the two organisations do not develop joint discipline in B.C. and assist each other in developing **Progressive Worker** as the Marxist-Leninist national monthly.

The whole question is reduced to this: CI will operate as the organisation has been functioning before but with one clear and conscious understanding that in B.C., they do not exist organisationally while their publications are widely distributed. In other words, CI — recognises PWM(ML) as the only Marxist-Leninist movement in BC calls upon all its members and supporters in B.C. to place themselves under the PWM discipline.

— will exert no organisational discipline on any member or supporter in B.C.

— will consult PWM(ML) in B.C. on the question of all activities in B.C.

The PWM(ML), on the other hand, will not curtail in any way the ideological struggle between the two organisations, undertakes to make available CI literature and consciously struggle to keep close contact with

the Internationalists working in other provinces.

2. The PWM(ML) communicated strongly to the CI that they are planning to continue publishing **Progressive Worker** as a national publication and welcome participation from other groups. The Canadian Internationalists (ML) pledged full support and agreed to assist in writing, publishing and distribution of this publication on the national scale. The Canadian Internationalists would use **Progressive Worker** as a medium for struggle on various problems concerning the building of a ML Party and will assist in all ways possible to consolidate this publication. The CI are, however, fully conscious of the fact that they have editorially or otherwise no control on this publication and in this respect consider PWM(ML) solely responsible for it.

3. The Progressive Workers Movement (ML) pointed out that they would actively strive to develop relationships with other ML individuals and groups, and exert their influence regarding formation of "one centre" in each province and would refrain from advocating "many centres" in other provinces, will publicly declare their support of groups in other geographical areas with whom they are in agreement, and will resolutely struggle to form one national organisation. The Canadian Internationalists (M-L) agreed with this and will do the same.

Apart from the discussion on the above three points, the Canadian Internationalists (ML) made it clear to PWM (ML) that the Canadian Internationalists (ML) will not abandon their support for CSM or any other broad anti-imperialist front. The CI have no control on these organisations and an open struggle regarding the correct line should take place within these particular organisations.

In B.C., the line regarding the organisation of youth and student movement will be ideologically worked out in public as the CI cannot advocate one line for the rest of Canada and remain quiet about it in B.C.

These discussions were held under cordial atmosphere and with mutual trust and confidence. We consider the contradictions between the two organisations as contradictions which are amongst the people and thus are non-antagonistic. We pledge to work resolutely towards the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Canada and else-where, the overthrow of capitalism with the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and towards this goal the two organisations will work as one always.

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**The following is the Progressive Workers Movement's Position on our Relationship to the Struggle to Build a Marxist-Leninist Party in Canada:**  
**PART 1**

At present PWM is forced by limited resources to confine its organisational activities to British Columbia. However, PWM is committed to ideological struggle throughout the whole of Canada via our paper, the **Progressive Worker**. We would like to maintain contacts with groups aspiring to build Marxist-Leninist organisations in other areas of Canada, and the paper, **Progressive Worker**, is open to articles from other groups or individuals on questions relating to building a Marxist-Leninist Party. The goal of all Marxist-Leninists should be for only one Marxist-Leninist group in any geographical area and eventually for one Marxist-Leninist Party in Canada. PWM's future organisational activities outside of BC will depend on whether or not other areas have developed Marxist-Leninist organisations.

**PART II**

It is our position that it is incorrect for the Internationalists, who recognise PWM as a Marxist-Leninist organisation, to attempt to set up an alternate centre in British Columbia. This means that they should put an end to their organisational work here, and propaganda work aimed at building their organisation in BC.

Specifically, this means:

That members of the Internationalists who wish to remain in BC must stop organisational work on behalf of the Internationalists and come under the discipline of PWM. These people may, if they wish, apply as individuals to join PWM.

People in BC who continue to follow the Internationalist's positions will necessarily run into not only ideological but also organisational opposition from PWM and from people who accept our leadership, when these are different in principle from those of PWM.



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**PWM Letter to North American Conference of Anti-Imperialist Youth**

Progressive Workers Movement  
432 Homer Street  
Vancouver, B.C.

North American Conference  
of Anti-Imperialist Youth  
Regina, Sask.

Dear Friends,

The Progressive Workers Movement is unable to send a delegate to the North American Conference of Anti-Imperialist Youth as we are more concerned at present with local organizing. However, in the hope that they may further the struggle to build movements in Canada and the U.S. to oppose imperialism, we offer some suggestions for the development and operations of an anti-imperialist movement:

(1) The anti-imperialist movement is the basic unit through which people can be mobilized to oppose imperialism. In an open and honest anti-imperialist movement, one which includes ALL political elements to imperialism, people are brought into contact with socialist and many other political philosophies, and through practice and the presentation of various political lines by the various political elements, develop politically. The main purpose of the anti-imperialist movement is to mobilize as many people as possible to oppose imperialism, and for the group itself partisan political questions should be of secondary importance.

In order to develop the widest possible anti-imperialist movement, it is essential to welcome into the movement as wide a range of people as possible. All types of people who oppose imperialism, in however limited a way must be included in the group — up to and including the national bourgeoisie. A cardinal rule of all anti-imperialist tendencies, however bankrupt, for the bankrupt ones will soon expose themselves and the truly progressive ones win support.

(2) Historically so-called anti-imperialist fronts have usually excluded the participation of communists. As we have said, an anti-imperialist movement that excludes any group that opposes imperialism is making a grave error; particular philosophies in the movement should not be afraid of debate with opposing philosophies (within an anti-imperialist

context) unless they are manipulating the movement or uncertain of their own beliefs and unwilling to put them to a public test. Communists, and all other groups, must have the right to participate fully in the anti-imperialist movement, but at the same time maintain independence of position and action.

(3) By this same token, an anti-imperialist movement cannot progress if the major political faction in the movement, by virtue of its superior numbers, places qualifications for membership upon the people seeking to join the movement that go beyond the simple desire to oppose imperialism. By demanding of prospective members a specific political ideology or advanced political understanding, the anti-imperialist group will cut off participation by the mass of the people. The anti-imperialist movement, as we said before, must be a forum where, firstly, actions are proposed to oppose imperialism, and secondly where various political philosophies contend and recruit members. A political movement must struggle ideologically for leadership, not impose it. Any political movement with a majority in the anti-imperialist movement should, in this same regard take pains to share leadership among the various other elements, to avoid public charges of discrimination by one group, and to allow the fullest development and exposure of other political tendencies.

(4) In various national situations, differences exist in conditions and stages of struggle. For example, in Canada the major contradiction at present is U.S. domination of the economy, so the struggle is basically one for self-determination. In the U.S., the struggle is mainly directed against indigenous capitalism, with aspects of national liberation struggle in the black community.

Tactics in the anti-imperialist struggle will vary according to unique characteristics of different areas, and no attempt should be made to impose strict uniformity of tactics in all areas. Specifically, the creation of an organization which calls for identical tactics in both Canadian and U.S. struggles, cannot be successful, (particularly for Canada, which would normally be in a numerically subordinate position having its views accepted). The co-operation between U.S. and Canadian groups in as many areas as possible to assist the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist fight is of course highly desirable, but only if independence of action is maintained.

Similarly, no tactic adopted by another country in the anti-imperialist struggle should necessarily be adopted as a requirement by the anti-imperialist group on China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution should be simply insisting upon the right of China to undertake internal

change. Because of China's position as a socialist society, support for or opposition to the cultural revolution is a socialist question and should not require the anti-imperialist group to take a position on it.

Wishing you success in the anti-imp struggle,  
PROGRESSIVE WORKERS MOVEMENT

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## **SPEECH BY COMRADE MALEY**

### **Introduction by Comrade C. Boylan**

Comrades and friends, today it is truly a great honour for me to call upon and introduce a Marxist-Leninist and a revolutionary worker from Vancouver to speak to us this afternoon.

This comrade and friend was born in the town of St. Vital, which is the birthplace of Louis Riel. And it is in that great revolutionary tradition of Louis Riel and the Canadian working class movement that this person fits so well.

He is a pipe fitter by trade, and as a construction worker he has worked in many projects throughout British Columbia — indeed throughout western Canada and even the United States.

He is what is called in western Canada a boomer — when the monopoly capitalist class is expanding its capital and making its investment in the mines and mills which expropriate or exploit the natural resources and the labour of the Canadian people, they herd the construction workers from one camp, one boom, to the next.

As a fighter and a revolutionary-spirited worker, this comrade and friend has always organised among his fellow construction workers to fight their day-to-day nitty-gritty struggles — for safety conditions, for the right to a decent life in the camps, for the right of a construction worker to have a decent family life, for better wages and conditions.

Having waged many militant struggles in the trade union movement, this trade unionist from Vancouver began to search for a revolutionary political form in which to express his deep hatred of the capitalist system and his great aspiration to organize proletarian revolution in order to overthrow the capitalist class which exploits him and the millions of other workers in the country. In the early 1960's, in that search for a revolutionary expression of his sentiment, our friend moved to explore

the so-called revolutionary left. It is an interesting and instructive odyssey of exploration. He spent the first period examining modern revisionism — it took him 6 months. At the end of that 6 months that part of the voyage was finished and he moved to explore the trotskyist organisations. That also took 6 months. It was after this that there arose in Canada the first anti-revisionist organised workers' movement — the Progressive Workers' Movement in Vancouver.

Our friend spent a considerable length of time in this organisation — indeed, it's on this topic which he will speak to us today, on his experiences with the Progressive Workers' Movement, which was misled and liquidated by its misleader Jack Scott.

In addition our friend has spent a great deal of time working in various reform organisations in Vancouver. He has worked in organising the unemployed and those on welfare. He has campaigned for public housing and on the question of housing he may make a later intervention and make a contribution for he has considerable experience in organising for the right of people to have a decent housing at reasonable rents.

So it is a great pleasure and a great honour to introduce to you, and to welcome to the podium, a revolutionary, a Marxist-Leninist, and a good friend of our Party, Comrade Jack Maley.

### **Comrade Maley:**

Comrades and friends. I read my speech just a little while ago to another meeting. There some comrades suggested that it was a little bit too dramatic, that I hit a little bit too hard, that I named names, that I might have been subjective. Comrades and friends, I am angry about what happened to my comrades in the Progressive Workers' Movement. I and others spent a good part of our lives trying to build it up — and it was dashed. A lot of us were asking why. I want to tell you why. I want to tell you in my own words, not in the words of an intellectual, because I never was that. I want to start from the beginning.

Jack Scott at the age of 7 was operating in Ireland. He and his mother would be going along in the street car and they would have to get down on the floor because bullets were spraying all over them. What I'm trying to point out here is that Jack Scott has a revolutionary background extending back to a very early age.

Jack Scott never went beyond grade five. What he learned he had to learn himself through personal education. He wasn't an intellectual raised at the universities.

He came to Canada when he was very young and he participated in some of the demonstrations which were held during the great depres-

sion. As a young man, he was called upon to talk to the meetings — sometimes to many thousands of people — and he developed skill at that.

He joined the Canadian Communist Party and he played some role in its organisation. When the Germans attacked Russia in the Second World War, he was already in the Canadian army (he was one of the first over to England). This was contrary to Canadian Communist Party's policy at that time. While in England, he sent messages back to people in Canada telling them to go on strike and to fight for better conditions because 'when we soldiers come back we want to be able to have a good living, not the kind of living there was during the depression'.

He became a signaller in the Canadian army. One of the duties of a signaller is to direct artillery shells on incoming troops and artillery positions of the enemy. He was decorated in action.

What I'm trying to prove is that Jack Scott did not start from an intellectual background — he had a very good working class history for a period of time.

After leaving the army he became a trade union organiser, I think in both the mines and with the boilmakers. At the time I met him he was a janitor and he was cleaning floors in the revisionist hall in Vancouver. This didn't seem to be a very dangerous man in my opinion.

When trouble broke out between India and China — the great border dispute — it was Jack Scott who led the split from the Communist Party. He took a clandestine organisation, a secret club of the Communist Party and from this was formed the embryo organisation of the PWM. The PWM led by Scott, then called on other militants to join as individuals, some of them coming in from Trotskyite organisations. It must be recognised that at that time the revisionist line of peaceful coexistence had been officially adopted by the Canadian Communist Party. Therefore to inexperienced people the Trotskyists, who had not officially adopted the peaceful coexistence line in theory, although in practice they were the work horses of the NDP, for whom they ran candidates, provided meeting places, and election campaign headquarters. They distributed leaflets and solicited money from both donations and membership. Because the Trotskyists at that time were not advocating peaceful coexistence, they thereby appeared to the eyes of a political novice to be the more militant leaders of the proletarian vanguard.

Comrade Stalin had been dead for a number of years and Khrushchevite revisionism was being accepted nearly all over the world without challenge from anyone except the Trotskyists. Many, out of the party were unable to stomach the new conditions of membership; were



unable to accept democratic centralist leadership from people spouting this line of profane garbage of peaceful coexistence; and were unable to stand in the ranks of a group which was launching vicious attacks on the name and memory of Joseph Stalin. Stalin, the former chairman of the Communist Party of Russia had led successful struggles against Trotsky; the armies of 22 nations seeking to destroy the proletarians of Russia; the consolidation of the first advanced communist state in the history of the world; and finally it was Joseph Stalin who led the Russian people's fight against the fascists from Germany, Hungary, Poland, Spain and the white Russian elements during the Second World War. Again it was Stalin, who as a final gesture just prior to his death gave the support to the North Koreans in their heroic defence of their fatherland against the combined onslaught of the capitalist armies operating under the authority of the United Nations.

After Stalin's death Russia's support was largely withdrawn from the North Korean struggle. Parts were not arriving for combat airplanes, replacement aircraft were not arriving and General MacArthur was massing an army along the border of North Korea for the final assault. Sorties were already being made across the Yalu River and generals of the U.S. army, seeing that the Khrushchev revisionists were prepared to accept things with folded arms, were openly boasting that they would have the war done quickly and would all be home for Christmas. Things looked dark for communism. Only one communist leader of stature arose to lead the fight against this terrible state of affairs — Mao Tsetung.

When MacArthur's armies rushed across the Yalu River to overcome North Korea, a painful surprise awaited them. There were new troops standing there, not with folded arms, but gun in hand. One million Chinese soldiers, fresh from chasing out Chiang Kai-shek across the waters to Formosa, now took on the chore of chasing the United Nations forces and the reactionary forces of South Korea. They nearly succeeded. The combined attacks of the Chinese and North Koreans army along with the guerrilla tactics of a people's war and movement, smashed, terrorized and routed all UN forces on North Korean territory. Unable to overcome this powerful opposition on ground not suited for naval support from their 7th fleet, U.S. militarists fell back in disarray and were forced to sign a peace treaty. North Korea was preserved by the staunch efforts of its people assisted by the Chinese army and by Mao's great challenge against revisionism and world imperialism.

Challenged by Mao, exposed to discerning eyes as a trembling traitor to world communism, Khrushchev decided to include Mao on his hate list. Russian technicians were withdrawn from China; engineering pro-

jects, such as dams and fuel plants were stopped; even the blueprints were destroyed. Khrushchev tried to achieve thereby the paper destruction of the Chinese means of production. He failed. Building projects were completed without his blueprints, without his technicians. Khrushchev's attacks on his challenger Mao in China became even more heated even to the point of inciting India to launch an attack on China.

A new state of affairs therefore now existed in world communism. Revisionism was being ideologically and physically attacked in the heat of revolutionary discussion. Revisionist leaders were in the frying pan. They were sweating and they didn't like it. They became vilifiers of Joseph Stalin and Mao. They also began to rewrite the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The stage was set for a break in the ranks of world communism to become the issue of the day.

New leaders in the countries with communist parties were being pushed or were jumping into the chairmanships of the Marxist-Leninist movements throughout the world. Mao had started the ball rolling and now it was ricocheting from one country to the other, creating sparks throughout the international communist movement. The stage was right for new people's leaders to step up onto. Unfortunately it was also a perfect moment for an opportunist to jump up there also. Such an opportunist was Jack Scott.

Heretofore, as I explained, his record had seemed above reproach. His position of supporting China in the Chinese-Indian border dispute and his denunciation of Russian revisionism were 100% correct at that time. He was listened to right across Canada. He was touted in the **Star Weekly** as a dangerous radical bent on establishing the dictatorship of the Canadian proletariat. All over Canada splits were occurring throughout the revisionist party and its dissidents were joining his PWM. It seemed that a clean fresh breeze of revolutionary energy was sweeping the nation.

I joined in Vancouver. Previously I think someone said, I'd spent six months in the revisionists and later six months in the trotskyists getting my political education. Just off hand, I can count twenty two people who at that time in Vancouver were earnest and dedicated followers of Marxism-Leninism. Most of them had never however, read a single line of Mao Tsetung. I myself was just starting to read Mao's works and I was amazed to find the revisionist book store in Vancouver peddling Mao's bound volumes for twenty five cents a piece. They were also selling the works of Stalin for two dollars for the whole 13 volumes. I mentioned this to my comrades and they began to snap these up at these rummage sale prices.

At about that time, Mao's pamphlets and books began arriving at our

organisation directly from China, due to the contact we had made with Chinese. The new books of Mao were bringing much more money than the revisionists were charging, by the way. I understood that the original works of Stalin for which I paid the revisionists two dollars now fetch about one hundred and seventy dollars on the open market. Of course the real value is a million times that inflated price. The Mona Lisa is a rag in comparison.

I shall now get back to the point from which I seemed to have been diverted. Jack Scott was a voracious reader. Jack Scott has been described as a walking encyclopaedia on Marxist-Leninist affairs. When I approached him as a pupil and asked him for his comments on Mao's works he would shrug off the question in irritated fashion and then launch into an attack of the cult of the individual. In the process of doing which he accused Mao Tsetung as attempting to set himself up as a god.

I was inexperienced at the time and under the democratic centralism of the PWM so I accepted a lot of the decisions of Jack Scott and the leadership without question. I was not able to judge at that time, this irritated rhetoric for what it really was, namely that Jack Scott was consciously, deliberately and maliciously allying himself with none other than Nikita Khrushchev; using the same smokescreen of the cult of the individual to attack the greatest living Marxist-Leninist of the movement, that is Mao Tsetung himself.

It was not until many years later that I discovered that Jack Scott had the very same type of assessment of Stalin. That follows. It was strange, or was it, that the only Chinese author studied, and I may say studied repeatedly, and in great detail was the man who wrote **How To Be A Good Communist**, Liu Shao-chi himself. Time and time again the PWM study circles were forced to defend the theories of that horrible book. At that time I was living in the headquarters and cleaning up and all. I would go cook a pot of stew for my comrades or something like that trying to get away from this study session. Years later, Mao himself exposed this childhood playmate before the eyes of the world and this great individual fell. The other personality, Mao is still around, despite the numerous choruses from hounds shouting cult of the individual. While those doing the shouting are those people interested in listening to their own noise, their slanderous attacks on Chairman Mao, Comrade Stalin, and now in Canada, Hardial Bains — he too is on their hate list, and has the honour to be there.

When Jack Scott, riding on Mao Tsetung's coattails became the leader of PWM, that group at that time was the vanguard of the Marxist-Leninist groups in Canada. The majority of its members were workers and many of

these actual fighters for workers' rights in trade unions. At least eight of them were delegates to the Vancouver Labour Council and many of them, myself included, participated in many strikes and picket lines. Together they collected their savings and even mortgaged their property to get the necessary funds together to buy a printing press, a linotype, and all the other publishing equipment required for a workers newspaper before it can exist. They brought revolutionary films for which China had given them two movie projectors and they showed films about Chinese struggles to thousands of people in Vancouver and across Canada. They held educational and large public meetings as well as small public meetings. They distributed agitational pamphlets. They attended united front demonstrations. They allowed people/groups access to their printing facilities. They published a monthly magazine with a circulation of two thousand. During one federal election they ran a candidate.

During this period there was great enthusiasm and a lot of people were doing active work. I believe this state of affairs also existed in other Canadian cities as well. The time was ripe all across Canada to create a Canadian Communist Party (M-L). The stage was set for Jack Scott to call a national convention to which other M-L groups would be invited and at which he would of course be forced to throw his hat into the ring and try to be elected chairman. Jack Scott, by his very nature, was totally incapable of doing this. This man would rather be chairman of a small sect than a worker in a serious M-L movement that he wasn't leading. He is incapable of taking his chances in a free election for fear that he may be defeated.

In desperate fear of such a circumstance arising, Jack Scott began to lash out at comrades all over Canada. He was seeing rivals everywhere and attacking them, alienating them and driving them into a state where they would either resign individually or split off in groups.

During most of this period I was working in various provinces — booming, as has been pointed out. In 1969 I returned to Vancouver and again became active in Jack Scott's PWM. But what a change! Every meeting seemed to offer only one more resignation. The films from China were lost. The film projectors, donated from China, were lost. There were no more public meetings. There were no more educational meetings either. Although there were 3,000 PWM magazines being printed every month, only 100 of these had a local circulation. In other words the PWM magazine was no longer the popular workers' magazine. Most of the local subscribers were right wingers — the CIA and whatever — who were trying to keep informed.



After that I became an organiser in the Unemployed Citizens' Welfare Improvement Council (UCWIC). The council held many demonstrations in Vancouver against the Social Credit government, against unemployment, and against Manpower, etc. When I suggested that more could be done if more Marxist-Leninists became involved in organising around unemployment and welfare and in organising the unorganised, I was told there was no-one free to help me. They could not help me because they were engaged in creating a "great masterpiece" of ideology on the history of the Canadian labour movement. They could not engage in anything.

After nine months of gestation, they came out with a magazine on the cover of which there was a picture of an eagle eating a maple leaf. This magazine did not become an instant best-seller, although I am informed that some 6 years later they did finally get rid of the last copies. I found the magazine uniquely dreary. I had lost a lot of faith in the authors by then.

When I returned to PWM in early 1969, the Internationalists were being discussed at every meeting. Some of Jack Scott's close adherents, — and I am supposed to leave out the names — were boasting of their "revolutionary" actions undertaken against Hardial Bains' people. No other struggle — except the one for "pure" Canadian unions — had so much attraction for these people. Any move, any offer for common meetings to discuss unity and common actions, was side-stepped, as one would quickly side-step the threatening lunge of a rattlesnake. Jack Scott's pathological fear of losing his influence if his group was exposed to different leadership ruled out any possibility of this group advancing along Marxist-Leninist lines. The extent to which hatred of a rival would take this man was made most vivid to me one foggy night in North Vancouver.

A car load of us were proceeding to a meeting. En route, somebody looked out the car window and said that Robert Cruise was out there standing, waiting for a bus. A discussion followed between Jack Scott and the people unnamed here as to whether they should turn the car around that cold foggy night and return to the spot where Robert Cruise was standing and beat him up. I was the only one there to argue against this. Although I had never met Robert Cruise (and still don't know him), I likely would have supported him against my own comrades if they had turned that car around.

One week after this incident, I quit the PWM. I had been advocating that forums and educationals be held in their headquarters — which had a small hall capable of holding some 60 people. For nine months, a whole pregnancy, they had refused saying that they couldn't possibly hold such



a meeting until their line was right, and that their line couldn't possibly be right until they produced that magazine with the bird's head eating the maple leaf. At last the thing got printed; at last a meeting could be held. Some friends of mine found a picture of Che Guevara. Che Guevara being recently killed, and we having respect for this fellow who had erred in his assessment of the state of affairs in Bolivia and had paid for this mistaken judgement with his life; we therefore defended his memory and demanded to know why his picture was taken down. At a meeting held that evening, I protested that action — an action of people who had themselves done very little of consequence. Jack Scott said, "I don't know why there is all this fuss about a picture." I pointed out that both my friend and myself still thought highly of the memory of Che to which Scott replied that he didn't think much of such pictures. Gabor Mate suggested (Oh, I'm sorry, I shouldn't have said that name). Somebody suggested that the picture of Comrade Stalin should also be taken down — and Jack Scott agreed. At this point I got up and resigned — from a group that I had been in for some four years.

To sum up, Jack Scott has always taken the position of trying to stop the formation of a Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist). He has consistently fought against those who might have organised, and those who did organise such a party in Canada — namely, Hardial Bains and the Internationalists. And he has consistently, although not always openly, adopted an anti-Mao Tsetung stand. Therefore, he is nothing else but a single-minded, calculating, contemptible reactionary of the first order. His leadership destroyed an embryo Marxist-Leninist party of Canada. The effects upon my good comrades who didn't know what was going on was nothing less than murderous. Comrade after comrade took to dope or heavy drinking. They became useless skid roaders. Some of them lost their sanity. Some, wounded deeply by the whole experience, attempted to crawl off into obscurity. The possibility of a Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) was not allowed to develop by Jack Scott. It was as if he had embraced the knees of a woman pregnant with new life attempting to stop the life within her body from being born and developing.

It was Hardial Bains who tore his hands away. The Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), breathed, grew, and is flourishing.

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## Text of a Talk by Brian Sproule

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My earliest recollection of first meeting Jack Scott was when I was just finishing off my term at UBC and looking for employment when Scott told me I should go on welfare. This seemed a little odd to me, that a Communist worker would tell me to go on welfare rather than help me find a job. Prior to this, I first had met two cronies of Scott when I was hanging around the New Left SDU at the University of British Columbia. These two friends of Scott had just recently fled the Canadian Student Movement Conference in Montreal in December of 1968. Upon their return to Vancouver they applied to join Progressive Workers' Movement and were assigned to organise a student group at UBC which was to oppose the Canadian Student Movement. I should point out that the two characters promoted themselves as former members of the Internationalists. However one of these guys was known to openly promote the use of LSD and one time, at a coffeehouse called the Advance Mattress (a New Left hangout) he told everyone that they should go take a "trip". So these were the ex-Internationalists the PWM was gathering around itself.

How they began was to look and see who was at UBC — where some people were considered more serious than others including Trotskyists as well as a number of anarchists. What the PWM supporter wanted was a so-called non-sectarian broad front student group. They set out to organise a voluntary student union which would be outside of the Alma Mater Society, which was the student union which all the UBC students belonged to. This was a form of dual unionism which PWM attempted to promote among the students. The tentative name this committee adopted was the Committee for a Progressive Student Union (CPSU).

The group began to hold regular weekly meetings and the main discussion was whether Canada was a colony or an independent capitalist country. The Trotskyists which belonged to this group also put forward the position that Canada was independent and they called for a "socialist" basis of unity, whereas PWM and their spokesmen put forward their view that what was needed was a broad anti-imperialist student group. After several weeks of debate the Trotskyists split, leaving

PWM's position dominant.

Another main item of discussion after that of the national question was that of the Vancouver Student Movement (VSM). The supporters of PWM put forward the view that the VSM was sectarian and wouldn't grow. The policy followed by VSM was to try and build unity on a principled basis with CPSU but they were always turned away by the PWM supporters who would bring up one triviality after another in order to prevent any principled discussion. In the meetings of CPSU, we had a verbal agreement that we wouldn't even discuss the VSM but it was impossible to ignore VSM because it existed in the real world and was doing a number of things. So on the one hand CPSU wasn't supposed to talk about VSM but on the other hand most of our time was spent discussing VSM and individuals in it.

By the beginning of the 1969-70 school term, CPSU had changed its name to Campus Left Action Movement, whose organ was the **Barnacle**, which was going to be a regular newspaper. This newspaper came out three times. Interest amongst the students quickly faded. CLAM organised an orientation programme for the first week of the school year which centered on democratisation of the university. Other examples of their activity was to organise a departmental union and the showing of a completely bourgeois film called, **Bethune** which was on the revolutionary Canadian doctor, Norman Bethune.

CLAM started out with quite a big splash and held a number of programmes but the only campaign that CLAM actually launched was to get students to spoil their ballots for the elections for student Senators. The idea CLAM put forward was that students shouldn't sit on the Senate, at least until such time that the students had won parity. This position was in line with the Trotskyist position of the Red base and the idea PWM put forward is that the university would be turned into some kind of anti-imperialist base. This campaign to get the students to spoil their ballots was basically a flop. CLAM had a series of regular public meetings that went on for the first few weeks of class but were rejected by the broad masses of students. CLAM quickly disintegrated into an irrelevant little group which met to talk to itself. In the spring of 1970, what was left of CLAM had a hand in organising a week long programme on Canadian nationalism. Speakers were Jack Scott, Michel Chartrand, Stanley Ryerson, Robin Mathews and James Steele.

During the spring and summer of 1969 I had been having discussions with the VSM, and had participated in a number of demonstrations with VSM and attended a number of public meetings. In the spring and summer of that same year the workers at B.C. Tel, a U.S. imperialist com-

pany, went out on strike. The company hired student scabs in an attempt to smash the strike. Various New Leftists around Vancouver at that time expressed token support for the workers in the form of going down to the picket line once or maybe twice and try and keep the issue purely one of just scabs. At first I spent up to 7 or 8 hours a day on the picket line with the workers carrying a sign which said, "Student Protests Student Scabs". VSM was also on the picket line on a regular basis and had done analysis on the nature of B.C. Tel, as to who controls it and how it is a U.S. imperialist company. After having discussion with VSM who were picketing on the basis that the U.S. imperialist company was hiring student scabs, I began to participate on the picket line with the VSM.

CPSU, the forerunner of CLAM, did not participate in this strike struggle at all. However when the first issue of the **Barnacle** was assembled, I was asked to write an article on this strike. I wrote an article which generally was the line that VSM had adopted. This article was censored and some of the leaders of CLAM said that it was sectarian, full of Internationalist jargon which would turn people off because they wouldn't be able to understand. So this article was re-written and words such as imperialism and so on were not acceptable. I remember the supporters of PWM who were in CLAM opposed the idea of professional revolutionaries by saying that the revolution would be made by "ordinary people living ordinary lives". And of course they never discussed the need for a Marxist-Leninist Party.

One day I visited the PWM headquarters in the summer of 1969 and ran into a henchman of Jack Scott. They cornered me and told me that they were concerned about me and that they felt I was one step away from the Internationalists. They criticised me for talking to VSM and the fact that I had sold **Mass Line** a couple of times. They said I should spend my time looking for a job and live an ordinary life. One member of CLAM gave me an ultimatum — I had to leave VSM or else. My politics being quite liberal at that time turned me away from VSM.

During the years that I hung around left-wing circles I ran in the Arts Under Graduate Society in the elections at UBC, under a national chauvinist slogan of "Canadianisation of Canadian Unions". Also during this early period in 1969-1970, I was seriously thinking about joining PWM but they never attempted to mobilise me. PWM put on a few forums in 1969 and again in 1970, but these were liquidated as was their journal the **Progressive Worker**. Next PWM published a monthly newsletter which possessed a national chauvinist and anarcho-syndicalist line. This Newsletter supported CLAM at UBC, as well as a group called the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which operated a table at UBC. At

the same time the PWM through their Newsletter criticised the VSM as sectarian saying that the VSM turned people off. Occasionally, PWM would call me up to lick stamps and stuff envelopes. PWM had a number of people around it which they called upon in order to carry out these sort of tasks but they never attempted to mobilise people in any disciplined work.

Towards the end of 1969 the PWM had ceased all public activity and its dwindling membership set out to work on a document called **Independence and Socialism in Canada — A Marxist-Leninist View**. In this document they call for an independent movement by putting forward the position that the socialists in the independence movement will someday get together and form a Party. On the cover of this document was a maple leaf being held in the beak of an eagle. I helped to sell this journal around UBC and hoped that it would give rise to some practical work. But this document proved to be PWM's last gasp. They never put out any more documents or newspapers or had any real organisational form. Before they actually liquidated the last five to six members took part in the founding of a newspaper called the **New Leaf** with the leadership coming from the remaining members of PWM. The **New Leaf** was supposed to be a community newspaper that promoted Canadian independence. This paper combined articles on pollution, housing, legal aid, national chauvinism, etc. Anything that was anti-American was promoted, especially Canadian unions as opposed to international unions, as well as opposition to American professors teaching at Canadian universities. Like the **Barnacle**, the organ of CLAM, the paper made an initial splash but quickly became irrelevant.

The most notable article was about a Mountie who was involved in a fatal accident. Jack Scott was never formally associated with **New Leaf**. He preferred to stay behind the scenes pushing his line through various henchmen. On one occasion he was invited to write a guest editorial in which he wrote on the immediate takeover of American business without compensation.

In October of 1971, I was invited to move into Jack Scott's communal house. Living in Scott's house was his crippled wife and five or six Canadian nationalists. During this period of time I was active in left-wing circles at UBC, although I was not a student. At this time Scott, was doing research at his home into the One Big Union (OBU), which he was promoting as the first attempt at revolutionary unionism in Canada. He was planning on writing an article on the OBU but he expanded his work to a so-called history of Canadian labour. His first volume is presently out which is called **Sweat and Struggle**.



Scott spent most of his time in his extensive library and at the UBC library going through various documents and books. I remember Scott as a cold aloof individual who wanted everyone to listen to him sit and talk about the good old days when he was supposed to be a trade union organiser. Scott always stressed the fact that he never held any office in any union. He was always amongst the so-called rank and file. He would put forward the position that any responsible office is bureaucratic by its very nature and that he didn't want to get caught up in the bureaucracy. About the only time Scott was willing to listen to anyone was if they had some gossip about somebody or group and what they were doing.

Scott promoted himself as the only communist left in Canada. He never offered any self-criticism as to why PWM collapsed as he was the founder and the leading member of PWM. If he took the collapse of PWM seriously he should have looked at his own role and analysed it. Rather he tried to shift the blame on other members saying that they were all drunks and degenerates or he would say conditions weren't ready for the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party. He said, "we tried but the people wouldn't listen to us."

Around this time during the early 1960's Hardial Bains came to him for advice and Scott said that he freely gave his advice but that it was never heeded. Just before I moved into Scott's house he made a speaking tour in eastern Canada, which was sponsored by the national chauvinist Canadian Liberation Movement, which is an organisation which grew out of PWM. Scott came from this tour and said that he had met various CPC(M-L) comrades and he was saying that CPC(M-L) seemed to be on the right path, that it had some good things about it, with some good young people around it but it had a problem — Hardial Bains. He said as CPC(M-L) grew, Bains' influence would diminish and he would gradually be pushed aside. This is the same splittist line that Scott gave in the B.C. Newsletter in an article attacking the CPC(M-L). PWM said that there were young inexperienced people around the CPC(M-L) and they could be excused but Hardial Bains should know better and that this man had a great deal of experience. One of these mistakes Scott pointed out was a demonstration which was actually not a demonstration but a group of comrades who had gone to a steel mill in Vancouver to disseminate literature and when they were attacked they vigorously resisted.

PWM attacked this resistance and attacked the comrade who was sentenced to prison by saying that his action was ultra-leftist and they inferred that the "Party was trying to fight the Cultural Revolution before the seizure of state power in Canada." I also remember Scott speaking fondly of his trip to China in 1967. He boasted that he had criticised the

Chinese revolutionaries and that the PWM sent criticisms to the Chinese Party along the lines that they didn't like the language in **Peking Review**. Scott also stated that Kang-Sheng a member of the Central Committee in China is a leftist. In November of 1971, I attended a meeting held by the Vancouver Branch of the CPC(M-L) commemorating the death of Comrade Norman Bethune. Jack Scott was invited to be the main speaker, and was introduced by Comrade Dave Danielson. After the meeting I asked Scott who was Danielson and he replied "Nitwit". He then proceeded to spout some gossip that Comrade Danielson was not very clever. He said Danielson claimed to be a member of PWM but in fact never was associated with PWM.

In the winter of 1971-1972, Jack Scott signed a petition for a People's Canada. The Party began to hold meetings to unite various left-wing people in town. Scott began to hold meetings with responsible comrades and certain proposals were made to him which were entirely from the position that all Marxist-Leninists should unite in one Party. Scott had actually signed an agreement with the Party but even before the ink was dry Scott had begun attacking the Party.

Even though he was having discussions which were confidential and secret he would come home and gossip about what was taking place. In January and February of 1972, the Party had discussion with all sorts of individuals and groups on the petition in order to found the Canadian People's United Front Against U.S. imperialism. The group with which I was associated called the Radical Union was approached. Various people from the Radical Union came forward for the founding of the Vancouver Revolutionary Committee. Scott's position was that the Party was only interested in recruiting one or two people and told many people that he was going to attend the founding meeting of VRC. But on the day of the meeting Scott announced that he wasn't going to be attending because he had to do the cooking. This was nothing more than a flimsy excuse by Scott which would enable him not to have to face Comrade Bains and try to oppose him publicly. This so-called Anti-Imperialist Caucus of the Radical Union and friends attended the meeting but walked out after a long argument over who should chair the meeting. No discussion took place on the political line and this group after walking out of the meeting collapsed. Scott told various people after the meeting that what took place was what he had expected. He also did propaganda that someone who was living in a house connected with the Radical Union, who attended this meeting and agreed to work with the VRC had actually already belonged to the Party secretly.

Several instances come to mind in this early period in 1972. One

evening I came home and Scott had boasted that he had thrown Bob Cruise out of the house that morning. Scott said that, "I won't talk to anyone at 8 o'clock in the morning." Another time I came home and Scott said that the existence of a letter had come to his attention. This letter had been slipped under the door of a certain paper and it was signed H.B. Scott claimed "that the letter had to be written by Bains because the letter knew too much." This letter was supposed to have exposed the writer as a drunken degenerate, who was tired of organising CPC(M-L). Scott got on the phone and told all sorts of people about the letter. I believe he had a copy which he read over the phone. I didn't actually read this letter until several months later but it was obvious that this letter was concocted by the agents of the state to discredit Comrade Bains. Scott was the leading promoter of this letter saying that it was virtually written by Comrade Bains.

I would like to say a few words about the house on 48th Street. The place had a morbid atmosphere like a tomb. The living room had thousands of books lying around in it with which Scott occupied himself most of the time. The house was organised on a communal basis with a duty roster posted and one person in charge of finances. Scott stayed out of the organisational part of the house. He was the grand old man who would monopolise conversations around the dinner table. Most of the other people living in this house had a hand in **New Leaf**, which at that time was on its last legs. Mostly they read and engaged in idle conversation. One person who was living in this house and a leading member of a Canadian union, was responsible for introducing Madeline Parent to a group of women at UBC who were trying to organise women office workers into unions. After meeting Parent these women withdrew their membership from an international union and went on to form AUCE which is now led by the neo-trotskyists.

Scott and his associates did propaganda that Comrade Bill Shpikula, who was arrested at the Canron steel mill in Vancouver in 1969, was mentally ill. Comrade Bill was sentenced to two years in prison for his revolutionary activity and Scott was doing the propaganda of the state machine which had Comrade Bill committed to Riverview Mental Hospital by saying that Comrade Bill was indeed mentally ill. Also Scott and his associates did propaganda in support of Fred Ferdman's deportation. The line given was that Ferdman was an American and deserved to be deported similarly, like any other comrades who were Americans should be deported to the U.S. A person living in Scott's house said that CPC(M-L) would never go anywhere because its leader was an East Indian. He put forward the line that the Canadian people were basically racist.

In the basement of this house there is a printing press which had belonged to PWM. This press was at the disposal of anyone in left wing circles except CPC(M-L). PWM had previously had this policy of letting anyone use this press except the Party. The Party gave Scott a complimentary subscription to **PCDNR** and the paper arrived at the house regularly and was one of the few bright spots in this mountain of literature. Scott did have three sets of Lenin and other Marxist-Leninist works which I don't ever recall Scott reading. His library had thousands and thousands of books on all sorts of subjects. I would glance over **PCDNR** quite regularly even though I never read it thoroughly. Other people in the house criticised me for this by saying "what are you wasting your time looking at this for." I found the atmosphere in this house so stagnating, I spent as little time as possible there. I left this house in April 1972.

In the next few months I saw Scott several times and not on an unfriendly basis. During the summer of 1972, I began to have discussion with the Partisan Organisation. One day I attended the annual picnic the Canada-China Friendship Association which Scott had played a leading role organising and still does today. Scott was at this picnic and I heard him say that the Partisans were doing pretty well however that they were making mistakes that had been made before and that it was forgivable to make mistakes once, but twice was unforgivable. He never elaborated on the mistakes that the Partisans were supposed to be making. Scott made it clear that he was completely refusing to work in any organisation, however, he was willing to give freelance advice and tell stories. Various members of the Partisans and other groups across Canada visited Scott and he liked to sit on a comfortable chair on the lawn with several young people sitting around him listening to him tell his stories.

On one occasion he told one group that he didn't see any hope for developing unity amongst the left in the near future. Only several weeks after this the Partisan Organisation united with the Party. This trend of unity is continuing today. Scott gave the Partisans a set of Lenin and was a guest at a Partisan Plenum held in August 1972. I became formally associated with the Partisans in August 1972 when the Partisans had just adopted a generally correct line on the working class movement. However, the Partisans were having difficulty developing a programme based on this line. When the federal election was called in October 1972, CPC(M-L) announced it was running candidates in the federal elections. The Party had approached the Partisans to nominate a fraternal candidate to oppose the capitalist parties. The Partisans agreed to nominate a candidate and then went to Scott to get his support. He gave the excuse that



he was old and tired. This excuse is completely fraudulent as politics is the main thing in Scott's life. Scott refused to support the Partisans because of its fraternal relationship with the CPC(M-L). The Partisans after the election united with the Party on the basis that all Marxist-Leninists should unite in one Party and not split.

Shortly after the Unity Conference was held I met Jack Scott in the cafeteria at UBC. I said, "Hello Jack" and he said, "You're out of your mind. Their just as crazy as ever." So I said fine, I'm keeping good company and left, and we haven't spoken since. In the six odd years that I've known Jack Scott and his associates, they have never developed a line on revisionism. Scott would make references to the "Communist" Party of Canada sometimes but I can only think of one example — this union in Sudbury, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union from the Canadian Council of Unions. Scott would say that's because the union is led by CP, they were trying to take it into steel. He also regularly attacked the CP for breaking up the OBU in the early 1930's.

Scott has a book in his library which is autographed by Comrade Norman Bethune which he likes to pull out and show people. He likes to promote the fact that he met Norman Bethune and shook hands with him. But he never developed any discussion on the political line of Comrade Bethune.

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### Transcript of a Report given by D.J. O'Donnel

In August 1969 I was approached by Bret Smiley who is now a leader of the Revolutionary Marxist Group a neo-trotskyist organisation in Canada and by Ralph Stanton the son of a revisionist lawyer in Vancouver, to participate in a new left group at UBC called Campus Left Action Movement (CLAM) whose organ was the **Barnacle**.

The basis of unity in this organisation was some abstract statement about U.S. domination of Canada and student power. But right from the beginning the real practical programme of CLAM was to collaborate with the IWW Black Cross in order to sell cheap food and radical literature at lunch hour. During this period the Internationalists had a regular literature table opposite ours and were there daily. Approximately once a week they had a mass democracy with very often some 100 people participating, discussing and giving their views on various questions. These meetings and the activities of the Internationalists were very often the



subject of discussion within CLAM where numerous slanders were spread against the Internationalists, such as they were sectarian and speaking "Peking" English.

It was at this period of time that Jack Scott took his critical view toward **Peking Review** and began popularising his trip to China in 1967, how he had offered criticism that "Peking Review didn't have sufficient grasp of the English language" and that Peking Review couldn't be understood by the Canadian people. At the same time this same slander was being made against the Internationalists.

CLAM was organised to oppose the growing influence of the Internationalists and as the student wing of Progressive Workers Movement (PWM) and Jack Scott. This particular guidance by PWM was given by Gabor Mate who attended all the CLAM meetings and reported back to PWM. It was Mate himself, who pushed the line that we were under discipline not to speak to the Internationalists. The only discipline of CLAM was that it not talk to the Internationalists and co-operate only with the IWW. During this period of time Jack Scott published a number of pamphlets through the IWW including one which carried an anti-China, anti-communist photograph and inscription. At no time was there a repudiation by Jack Scott or his supporters of this pamphlet and its attack against Chairman Mao and the Chinese people. Rather it was considered by them as a funny joke.

The major program of CLAM at this time in February 1970, was a festival of the oppressed, in which they invited a leader of the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party to speak at UBC on the revolutionary movement in the U.S. In attempting to organise a Quebec and Canada Week they brought together all of the dregs of the Canadian movement: Mathews, Steeles, Michel Chartrand, Stanley Ryerson (a revisionist historian), from the FLQ and Jack Scott. This was their main practical activity of the year — to promote all of these anti-Marxist-Leninist individuals and groups.

Jack Scott as I recall set his main concentration on the army, labour history and popularised the IWW, the OBU in the working class movement. In the spring of that year there was a demonstration organised by some Trotskyists. PWM went to this demonstration with a slogan, "U.S. Get Out of Canada and Get Out of Vietnam." The Internationalists at this demonstration participated under the slogan, "Escalate People's War", and were attacked by the Trotskyists in this demonstration. Immediately after this the followers of Jack Scott popularised a story that it was the Internationalists who had provoked the violence at the demonstration and that they were sectarian, etc.

Also in the spring of 1970 I went to a number of meetings that were called in order to establish a so-called independentist community newspaper. Jack Scott was the ideological and the political leadership of this development which ended up being called **New Leaf**. It had a very short existence and Scott never actually participated in the daily organising of the paper. Behind the scenes he promoted his lines and in the same way he had quite a lot of influence in the Canadian Electrical Workers which later became the Canadian Association of Industrial and Mechanical and Allied Workers Union.

In October 1970, when the War Measures Act was declared (an intrusion of the Canadian armed forces by the state) there was a meeting at UBC set up to protest this action at which myself and Jack Scott were speakers. At that meeting Jack Scott presented an historical perspective of the War Measures Act. He put forth examples in B.C. where the armed forces had been used against workers without talking about the entire question of the dictatorship of the capitalist class or the colonial subjugation of Quebec and the nature of the British North America Act. Instead he gave abstract, intellectual presentation. Shortly after the War Measures Act, I had a conversation with a member of the PWM who told me that the only members of the PWM who were left were the members of the Central Committee. I have had contact with a number of people with PWM and the effect of that organisation and the refusal of Jack Scott to oppose revisionism in practice and the anarcho-syndicalist line he promoted was that these individuals either went into various forms of self-cultivation, alcoholism, mental instability or opportunism such as one individual who is now a doctor and number of others who are trade union bureaucrats. The effect of the leadership of Jack Scott in PWM was quite devastating both in terms of the split and disunity in the student circles in UBC and in the working class movement with the concoction of the Canadian union movement. The effect of his line was to divert a large number of people away from revolutionary activity.

In the spring of 1971, there was a conference called (Indo-China Women's Conference), and two individuals of the PWM participated along with members of the Voice of Women and Women's Liberation Movement. These people found certain documents that showed that the Revisionist Party of Canada had control of the Voice of Women and had given instructions to them on every detail of the conference. Those members of PWM introduced this as a fact and then proceeded not to wage battle, any battle, against the revisionist control of the conference and actually helped the revisionists strengthen their control.

When the Quebec-Canada week was organised at UBC one of the

main speakers was Michel Chartrand. As a result of this national programme in which CLAM participated, Michel Chartrand was able to strengthen his influence in Quebec, where it had been quite minimal before this tour. It is quite clear that this activity at UBC organised by CLAM which was supposed to support the Quebec people actually helped to undermine their struggle as well as spreading the maximum amount of confusion amongst the students at UBC as to the relationship between Canada-Quebec.

In 1971 there was an attack by a fascist on the literature table at UBC and in February 1971 the AALAPSM waged a struggle against the lackey administration and some zionist agents who were doing propaganda against the Palestinian people. Through both of these events the role of Jack Scott and his followers was to say that the progressive students were the ones who were causing the violence and it was their unreasonable rhetoric which lead to these fascist attacks.

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**UPHOLD REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES,  
BUILD THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE**

*Published originally in Le Patriot Rouge, Journal of the Communist Party of Quebec (Marxist-Leninist) — Reprinted in People's Canada Daily News Release, February 8, 1972.*

At the end of the summer of 1971 a profound division in Party ranks became public. The struggle between two different political lines crystalized and it manifested itself in two different methods of work, two different strategic lines on the national liberation struggle and the role of the Marxist-Leninist Party — two different lines in the fields of ideology, politics and organisation.

A whole gang of counter-revolutionaries in Montreal crowed that "the Maoists are splitting" and that "the Maoists will disappear." These reactionaries, ignorant as they are, did not understand that **One Divides Into Two Is A Universal Law of Marxist-Leninist Dialectics** and Communists have no fear of ideological and political struggle against the bourgeoisie, whether they are internal or external to the proletarian organisation. Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao have shown us that the victory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is achieved **through struggle against**

**all bourgeois and petty bourgeois trends** and it will go on through a whole historical epoch of class society and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A group of Nazis, liberals and communalists have been running around slandering and rumour mongering against the Communist Party of Quebec (Marxist-Leninist). As a result hundreds of people have come forward since July 1971 to have discussions with the Party members and supporters on the profound differences of principle that led to a group of renegades splitting from the Party last year. The following report on these questions was developed in the Marxist-Leninist Study Group of Jeunesse Revolutionnaire Quebecois-St. Jacques and submitted to **Patriote Rouge** for publication. **Patriote Rouge** publishes it to answer the rumours and slanders being spread against the Party and hopes it will unleash wide scale discussion among the left circles on the necessity of adhering to revolutionary principles and of using these principles to build the unity of our people and our revolutionary party.

On July 31, 1971, a hidden anti-Party clique which had been attacking the political line and the leadership of the Communist Party of Quebec (Marxist-Leninist) for well over one year, became an open anti-party clique sprouting virulent anti-communism and racism and practising national socialism. Through bourgeois fraud they seized control of our bookshop (built by the Communist revolutionaries\*) and they began using it as a centre for anti-party propaganda. They deceived some new supporters who did not know the history of the Party and finally the leading Nazi formed "his own" organisation to attack communism and the Party members.

Let us examine some historical facts. During the summer of 1971 the leading Nazi had very long discussions with the Party leadership and he made some definite agreements as to future work. At all times he attempted to keep his anti-Party line well hidden and at no time did he honestly speak his mind because his ideas were the ideas of the big bourgeoisie and he was terrified of open ideological struggle. No sooner were the discussions over and various decisions taken, than he refused to put them into practice, seized control of the bookshop and began rumour campaigns and anti-communist slanders against the Party and the leadership.

The leadership organised a special meeting in Montreal on July 31, 1971. The leading Nazi was asked to come and present his position. Under the hoax that "I have not yet worked out my line. When I work it out I will discuss it!" he refused to come and tried to split the organisation.

Without any discussion among comrades, without openly developing

his political line, the anti-communist clique removed Volume 3, Number 48 of **Mass Line**, Journal of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) from the bookshop. They began a rumour and slander campaign against our sister party and labelled the newspaper as "anti-communist". The communist revolutionaries personally went to the bookshop, met with the leading Nazi and suggested that an open mass democracy meeting of all concerned should be held to struggle over differences on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Once again the leading Nazi refused to discuss, to openly present a principled political line and he became even more vicious in his lies and slanders. He frantically put out five publications to "prove" he was "doing something" and he organised a meeting of chance individuals in which he attacked the leadership as being "bureaucratic", "fascist", "not integrated with the people", "anti-people", etc. etc. All kinds of internal information was given out and on 12 occasions between July 31st and mid-October, our ordinary members and supporters went to the bookshop where the Nazi and his wife gave out information, not even knowing who they were talking to nor why these questions were being asked — thus proving themselves to be die-hard accomplices of the bourgeois state machine.

On September 4, 1971, the leading Nazi and his coterie were formally invited by the Party to attend an internal mass democracy meeting on the subject *The True History of the Communist Party of Quebec (Marxist-Leninist)*. Once again they refused to come and openly present their views and they continued their splitting and disruptive activities. Thus: **1.** The leadership of the Party was denounced and the political line was changed by a clique which refused to have any discussion within any of the Party units. **2.** When approached by the leadership on July 31st, the anti-communist clique refused to come and have discussion. **3.** When approached on two occasions for mass democracy meetings to struggle out the important questions the clique refused to come. **4.** All kinds of internal information was openly imparted through the bookshop.

Various members and supporters throughout Quebec became extremely furious at this counter-revolutionary, fraudulent activity. Let us look at some more facts. The Party unit in Quebec City denounced the fraudulent Nazi character right from the beginning upon which he broke off contact with them and, using his control of the bookshop, stopped the dissemination of Chairman Mao's works to Quebec City. He then toured Quebec and attempted to push his anti-party line on the responsible comrade in Saguenay Lac St. Jean. This comrade upheld principle and on two occasions suggested that a party conference be called so that the differences could be struggled out in a mass democratic fashion,



based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. On both occasions the leading Nazi refused and even went so far as to hide a formal written statement from Saguenay-Lac St. Jean asking for such a Party conference.

It is clear to all that with utmost patience the members of the Party developed the struggle on a principled basis, upholding the Marxist-Leninist method of mass democracy, struggle-criticism-transformation. This, however, was taken to be a sign of weakness by the anti-communists who became even more degenerate in their personal slanders and attacks. They labelled Party members as "police agents", they threatened Party members with assassination on at least two occasions and the Nazi's wife actually threatened a Party member wielding an iron bar in their anti-communist den, the bookshop. What kind of activity is this? Is this the way revolutionaries, communists, act or is it the way the fascist compradors act? Communist revolutionaries have been threatened with this type of attack before, ever since 1968 when they first stood up to disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought in Quebec, and they have never once shirked from their revolutionary tasks, never once set aside principles or hidden the truth. The anti-communist clique, which refused to engage in open democratic discussion degenerated into slander and threats of physical violence thus showing their true character for all to see, to take heed and to organise against.

**"In reply to the mention of peace the enemy opened fire with all batteries, including even the Council. Shells rained on my head. Autocrat, Schweitzer, bureaucrat, formalist, super-centre, one-sided, stiff-necked, obstinate, narrow-minded, suspicious, quarrelsome... Very well, my friends! Have you finished? You have nothing more in reserve? Poor ammunition, I must say..."** (Lenin, **One Step Forward, Two Steps Back**)

## **TWO DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED POLITICAL LINES**

In its publications the renegade clique makes a lot of noise about being "scientific", about "scientific theory", and "scientific organisation." Let us examine some of their "science."

### **1. On the Party of the Proletariat and the Party's line.**

In a fraudulent "Patriote Rouge" illegally published after they had left the Party in September 1971, they have written: "These two lines (proletarian and reactionary — ed.) become antagonistic contradictions over the question of Party building. The two lines cannot co-exist, if the Party is to develop they become the principle contradiction inside the Party. One of the two lines must disappear in order for the Party to move

forward. In order that the Party move forward and become a large mass movement the Proletarian Revolutionary line must triumph.” (translation — PCDNR) Let us examine this rhetoric.

Chairman Mao writes in *On Practice*: **In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class.**” All members of an organisation are there as the members of a definite class and class struggle goes on in any organisation throughout a whole historical epoch and it is unceasing till class society is finally abolished. Chairman Mao said: **“Correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle.”** This shows that struggle between what is correct and what is incorrect is vital for the development of what is correct and revolutionary. This is the history of Marxism, of Leninism and of Mao Tsetung Thought. To shout that “one line must disappear” is to shout that the representatives of a class must disappear, that we must throw away Chairman Mao’s theory of the Party and Party building and that we must adopt the theories pushed by all the historical renegades from Marxism-Leninism, the theories of “inner Party peace”, of the “dying out of class struggle” and of “Party of the whole people.” What has this got to do with Marxism-Leninism? It is an out and out revisionist, renegade theory which is used as a justification for the suppression of communist revolutionaries.

Who is a bourgeois reactionary? Who is an upholder of Marxism-Leninism? On these points the renegade clique confounds right and wrong. They label the communist revolutionaries as “bourgeois reactionaries” just like Richard Nixon labels the Vietnamese people’s struggle a “War of Aggression.” When Richard Nixon talks about “eliminating aggression in Vietnam” what does he mean? When the renegade clique talks of the “reactionary line must disappear”, what do they mean? They mean the same thing as Nixon: They give themselves all the rights to be unprincipled, arbitrary, refuse to engage in open democratic discussion to uphold their position in front of the people and Party members and then threaten reactionary violence against the communist revolutionaries while the communist revolutionaries have no right to resist! This is called the “reactionary line must disappear” and this shows very clearly how the renegade clique has abandoned all pretenses of following Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Let us go on. Leninism teaches us that the Party of the Proletariat must be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat, it must not be a “mass movement” but a tightly organised, well disciplined party, not very extensive but very closely linked to the masses throughout the

whole society, capable of leading and developing the mass movement on a correct revolutionary basis. He pointed out that such a Party is built from the **"top downward, starting from the Party congress and the bodies set up by it"** (*One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*) and he vigorously opposed the tendency of opportunism to build the Party **"from the bottom upwards, allowing every professor, every high school student and 'every striker' to declare himself a member of the Party."** The role of the Party is to lead, to raise the political level of the masses up to the political level of the proletarian revolutionaries, organise into the Party the most advanced elements and then build the material conditions for the mobilisation of the middle and backward elements. Lenin writes; **"...the organisation of revolutionaries must consist first and foremost of people who make revolutionary activity their profession (for which reason I speak of the organisation of revolutionaries, meaning revolutionary Social Democrats). In view of this common characteristic of the members of such an organisation, all distinctions as between workers and intellectuals, not to speak of distinctions of trade and profession, in both categories must be effaced. Such an organisation must perforce not be very extensive and must be as secret as possible."** (*What Is To Be Done?*). Lenin opposed all those who equated the Party with "mass movement", those who debased revolutionary activity to a mere organising of "strikes and demonstrations", of bowing to spontaneity and giving up proletarian leadership. He vigorously upheld the proletarian organisation as the general staff of the proletariat in its class war against the bourgeoisie, a headquarters which must mobilise the whole working class in its historic mission of emancipating all of struggling mankind. The renegade clique opposes all this. They write: "In order that the Party move forward and become a large mass movement the Proletarian Revolutionary line must triumph." Every historical renegade from Marxism-Leninism who came up to oppose the proletarian party, who advocated building reformist parties, tailist after the bourgeoisie's politics, with no revolutionary discipline and no principled political line gave this exact same line. To develop a "mass party", a "party not turning off the masses", "at the level of the masses", etc., etc., every revisionist and reformist will abandon Marxism-Leninism and will convert the development of a political line into some hodge-podge of liberal bourgeois consensus democracy. The level of the organisation is brought to the level of the most backward elements and everyone bends the political line to "his line" and throws Marxism-Leninism out the window.

In August 1971, the renegade clique was openly espousing bourgeois organisation and consensus democracy. They wrote: "Montreal Rouge is

a journal of proletarian politics which aims at grouping all the Montreal workers together around a political line conceived, elaborated and desired democratically by all the workers.” (translated — **PCDNR**) What workers are you talking about? The advanced communist workers? The workers who took up self-defence in October 1969 at Murray Hill? The workers who still are anti-communist, racist or who follow the Creditistes? Are not these all part of “all the Montreal workers”? A political line “conceived, elaborated and desired democratically by all the workers” is a bourgeois political line because it does not unite on the basis of principle. Is an excuse to throw Marxism-Leninism away and to trail behind every backward force that comes along and chatters that “demonstrations develop ideology”, “the people are at the level of bourgeois nationalism”, “the workers do not support China and Chairman Mao.”

What is the practice of this line? On July first, Confederation Day, its advocates participated in a demonstration where they tailed behind the holy alliance of the left. They produced a leaflet (which was denounced by Party supporters and quickly withdrawn) which did not even mention the principle contradiction in Quebec, U.S. imperialism, and they converted the demonstration into an “anti-Trudeau day” farce. In the demonstration they did not oppose racist and chauvinist slogans (the broad masses did) and some of the clique’s “leaders” abandoned the red flag of the Quebec proletariat to clutch on to the flag of the nationalist petit-bourgeoisie. Their concept of “leading” the people is to abandon principle, allow bourgeois ideology and trotskyite counter-revolution to run wild and betray the vital interests of the people. No wonder they were vigorously applauded by the trotskyists after July 1st as the Holy Alliance set to work in the beginning of August to prepare their reactionary October 16th language demonstration.

In St. Denis, Quebec, the renegade clique marched once again behind the Holy Alliance of Reggie Chartrand, Raymond Lemieux. They even begged to participate in the activities upon which they were unceremoniously booted out! They then stated they were “confused” on the nature of these fascist groups and to justify their participation shouted that “Even Mao made an alliance with Chiang Kai-shek!” This is out and out anti-communism, a justification for national chauvinism and it would win rounds of warm applause from every trotskyite and Nazi. Chiang Kai-shek was forced, on the threat of death at Sian, to sign an agreement with the Chinese Communist Party that he would fight the principle enemy of the Chinese people, Japanese imperialism. The principle enemy of the Quebecois people is U.S. imperialism. Its agents in Quebec

preparing conditions for a reactionary civil war based on the language question are Trudeau, Bourassa, Levesque, Reggie Chartrand, Raymond Lemieux and every reactionary chauvinist force. Where does the question of alliance come from? Is this what your "party equals mass movement by democratically conceiving a political line" found out, renegades, that the Quebec people loved racism and tailing behind the Holy Alliance of Quebec fascists whom you now support? While you pay lip service to the fact that they want a racist war, you tail behind them, participate in their functions and even proclaim that "In words they want what is good for the people..." (October 16th leaflet. Translated — **PCDNR**) Did you not hear Reggie Chartrand state that after the independence of Quebec, the first thing is to get rid of the Jews? Did you not hear Raymond Lemieux state in St. Léonard that "every immigrant who learns English is our enemy"? Is this what you call "in words they want what is good for the people"? Everything you say and do only reveals more clearly your class nature for all to see: and what we see are the classic lines of the Quebec counter-revolution.

### **THE RENEGADE CLIQUE TRIED TO SECRETLY FOIST THESE LINES ONTO THE PARTY**

Seeing their failure they tried to split the Party in August-September 1971. Failing again they ran away to make new alliances. (\*\*)

2. Deliberate and arrogant falsification of Quebec history to "prove" that the renegades are the only "true" revolutionaries.

For the renegade clique the history of Quebec started with their denunciation of the Party and the establishment of "their own" organisation! For those who think this is too incredible, here is what they wrote on November 1st:

"This demonstration (Oct. 16th) is but a link in the big chain which represents our national liberation struggle; the stones that were thrown and the barricades that were put up for the first time in Quebec clearly show the rising sentiment of the people." (Translation — **PCDNR**)

Was this the first time barricades went up in Quebec? What happened to Cabano, to Mont-Laurier, to Lachute, to Quebec City of 1918, to the barricades of 1837? This is to slander the revolutionary tradition of our people and it indicates total isolation from the Quebec working class, its struggles, its aspirations. It is utmost ego-centrism and falsehood to suggest that revolutionary activity in Quebec began in July 1971! On October 16th a group of people were led away into a dead alley and the



anarchists who led them there were the first to run away when the Montreal Riot Squad came on the scene. To cover up their cowardice they now have to shout that this was the "historic day of the first barricades in Quebec."

Ten days is a long time to correct a stupidity like this. But was it a mistake? On November 10th the renegade clique writes that the October 29th demonstration "Is the first time that united workers face the fascist forces of the Montreal police"! What happened to the MLT struggle of 1968? What happened to the heroic battles waged by tens of thousands of workers against the Montreal police along St. Lawrence St. in the 1930's? To "forget" all this is to slander the working class and the Quebec people and it cannot be taken lightly. **No one who fights for the interest of the Quebec working class can forget for one minute the history written in the blood of the Quebec people. It is only the bourgeoisie which "forgets" these things. It is only the bourgeoisie which falsifies our history in this way in order to serve its own class interests. It is only the bourgeoisie which so arrogantly slanders the Quebec working class and people!**

3. Hatching new "theories" to justify anti-party activities. "It is clear, I think, that the cries about this celebrated bureaucracy are just a screen for dissatisfaction with the personal composition of the central bodies, a fig leaf. ...You are a bureaucrat because you were appointed by the congress not by my will, but against it; you are a formalist because you rely on the formal decisions of the congress, and not on my consent; you are acting in a grossly mechanical way because you plead the 'mechanical' majority at the Party Congress and pay no heed to my wish to be co-opted; you are an autocrat because you refuse to hand over the power of the old gang." (V.I. Lenin, Vol. VI, pp. 310)

Having been unable to secretly foist his political line onto the Party, the leading nazi began hatching a theory of "ultra-centralism". He began the propaganda that "everytime I am in the presence of the communist revolutionaries I feel oppressed!" (An innocent confession again) Then, when his erroneous lines were opposed he raised the banner of "freedom of criticism" by complaining "If one does not allow others to speak, correct ideas cannot find expression..." (Translated by **PCDNR**) Were there any scientific opinions that were opposed by the Party leadership? Has the Party leadership ever opposed open and scientific discussion? No. What the Party leadership has openly criticised are unscientific, bourgeois ideas and practices because the leadership encourages every member to combat the influences of imperialist society and to move forward. To accuse us of opposing unscientific ideas is to accuse us of being Marxist-Leninist. To this we proudly plead guilty. But

what are our accusers in that case? They are bourgeois opportunists who want to push their own anti-communist line in opposition to the Party's line and who want to change the nature of the Party from red to white.

Having failed, the leading Nazi began his tirades: "Bureaucrat", "despot", "Social fascists", etc., etc. He proclaimed that he was the new "proletarian centre" and he raised the banner of "strengthening democratic centralism", i.e. his own clique and putschist activities. Both the leadership and the membership upheld the Party's line and called for a mass democratic meeting to sort out differences. When the leadership upheld the Party line in opposition to the renegade clique, the leading nazi attacked the leadership as "ultra-centralist". When the membership upheld the Party line and refused to obey orders given by the leading nazi they were attacked as "ultra-democratic". Thus those who did not submit to the whims of bourgeois reaction were labelled "ultra-centralist", or "ultra-democratic" depending on his whims of the moment.

We ask these renegades: If you are the champions of "strengthening democratic centralism" then why did you not openly develop your line in the party units? Why did you refuse to discuss on July 31st? Why did you refuse to come to an open mass democracy meeting on **Mass Line**? Why did you not present your views openly on September 4, 1971? Why did you on two occasions refuse the suggestion from Lac St. Jean that there should be a Party conference? This exposes your hoax of "strengthening democratic centralism" as nothing more than a bogus theory to consolidate your own bourgeois dictatorship.

Our Party is never afraid to open principled discussions. That is what has distinguished us from the Holy Alliance of the Left in Montreal right from 1968. We will never give up this principle. Marx said: **"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims."** The leading Nazi, right from 1970, concealed his true views and began making open attacks on the Party. In August 1970 he attacked the Party leadership as "fascist" because he did not want to abide by Party discipline. He gathered together a handful of chauvinists, liberals, zionists and even one paid police agent and he promoted "his" work in opposition to the Party work. While he shouted for unity he was the greatest promoter for disunity and he actively promoted bourgeois competition between area committees. For this reason he was never a Party member but only a member of one of the Party's organisations which he attempted to use to build a fiefdom and unprincipled alliances.

**"What do we mean by unity? Of course we mean unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and not unprincipled unity."** (Chairman Mao) The reactionary Holy Alliance of the Left tried to defeat the Party by 1. prac-

tising revisionism, 2. Splitting, 3. intriguing and compromising. We can defeat them if we follow Chairman Mao's instructions: **"Practice Marxism not revisionism; unite, don't split; be open and aboveboard and don't intrigue and conspire."**

To these enemies of the Quebec revolution who were hoping gleefully that "the Maoists will disappear": This is a wishful dream of the bourgeois counter-revolution. The Party purged itself of a handful of counter-revolutionary elements who practiced dogmatism, sectarianism, terrorism, ultra-leftism and conspiratorial activities and who were doing utmost damage to the Party's work among the masses. The victory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is achieved only through struggle against all anti-communist trends. Summing up our experience in internal and external class struggle and vigorously making this summing up a discipline for future work, the Communist Party of Quebec (Marxist-Leninist) can only go forward to organise the victory of the national liberation struggle of the people of Quebec, to the building of socialism and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**"We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance almost constantly under their fire. We have combined, by a freely-adopted decision, for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not of retreating into the neighbouring marsh, the inhabitants of which, from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now some among us begin to cry out: Let us go into the marsh! And when we begin to shame them, they retort: What backward people you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the liberty to invite you to take a better road! Oh, yea, gentlemen! You are free not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact, we think that the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render *you* every assistance to get there. Only let go of our hands, don't clutch at us and don't besmirch the grand word freedom, for we too are 'free' to go where we please, free to fight not only against the marsh, but also against those who are turning towards the marsh! (V.I.Lenin, What is to be Done?, Vol. 1, p. 10)**

#### NOTES:

\* The revolutionary bookshop was built by the Communist revolutionaries in January 1969 and it served the Party and its mass work well. When he left, the Nazi did propaganda that it was "his" bookshop

because, due to an error on our part, he was named as secretary of the bookshop, meanwhile the responsible individual in charge vacillated under the hoax that "I simply don't understand what is going on."

\*\* After leaving the Party the renegade clique formed "its own" organisation: The Revolutionary Workers Movement. Their statement of purpose is copied word for word from the Party statement (of the Quebec Workers Movement) **omitting** the clauses referring to mass democracy as the method of sorting out contradictions and the parts denouncing the CNTU and the QFL as capitalist unions which goes to show their ardent desire to join the Holy Alliance of the "left".

### **Down with the 'Left'-Sloganeering Front of Khrushchevite Revisionism**

*The following article is reprinted from PCDNR, January 11, 1972, and Mass Line Vol. 4, No. 54, May 6, 1973.*

*A commentary by a member of Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Movement.*

The **Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Movement** was founded in March, 1969. Right from the start, the following tendencies arose in the organisation; **1.** The ultra-left "DENOUNCE ALL", **2.** The rightist "COMPROMISE ALL", and **3.** The genuinely Marxist-Leninist "UNITE ALL THOSE WHO CAN BE UNITED AGAINST OUR PRINCIPAL ENEMY, U.S. IMPERIALISM". Close to three years later, the three tendencies have matured.

Since June-July, 1971, certain "Afro-Asians" who were members of the October First Branch of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) have been viciously slandering and attacking the Party in Canada and Quebec. Our Party Chairman tried every possible way of stopping these "Afro-Asians" from taking the anti-communist and racist road, but they considered our patient approach to be our "weakness" and steadily became more hysterical and wild in their attacks. Opposing reason and listening to nothing progressive, they attempted to use the Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Movement as a platform to attack the Party. Then, when all their flimsy attempts to tarnish the sacred name of our Party failed, they decided to form their "own" "solidarity" organisation and attempted to split, dismember and liquidate the solidarity movement.

When we attacked the disruptive activities of these counter-



revolutionaries, they attempted to put the blame of the disruptions on ourselves. "If you keep on opposing the anti-communists and racists, it will 'split' the group", they claimed. Have we not heard this fascist logic before? It is the same old fascist logic of confounding right and wrong, supporting the aggressor and vilifying the victim of aggression and espousing wrong-doing and opposing anyone who opposes the wrong-doers. When the Chairman of the Party, who is also the Chairman of the Solidarity Movement in Canada and Quebec, was viciously attacked through slander, rumour-mongering and mud-slinging, the Local Secretary in Montreal, instead of supporting what is just and opposing what is unjust, attempted to cover-up for the lumpen elements initiating the attacks and conspired against the leadership. Instead of writing down their criticism of the leadership, causing principled discussions amongst the members and supporters and dealing with the contradiction on the democratic centralist basis, the Secretary took the road of arbitrariness and bourgeois dictatorship. Even when the lumpen elements and their overlord failed to get a majority vote for their misdeeds, they refused to criticise themselves and rectify. Instead, they kept on dividing and splitting, conspiring and rumour-mongering and then they declared that they will "build" a "new solidarity movement".

They advocate abstract unity and concrete dis-unity when dealing with the communists, and concrete unity and abstract dis-unity when dealing with reactionaries. Between the aspects of unity and dis-unity, unity amongst the people is primary and dis-unity is secondary. Imperialists and their agents attempt to make the secondary aspect primary, in order to concretely divide the people and rally the people behind themselves. This is the same attitude taken up by these "Afro-Asians". Instead of opposing dis-unity and opposing disruptive elements, and supporting what is just and opposing what is unjust, they do the opposite. It is for this reason that they use the counter-revolutionary slogans of ALL STRUGGLE AND NO UNITY with the communists, and ALL UNITY AND NO STRUGGLE with the liberals, communalists and nazis.

Since the time it was founded, this is the second major struggle against reaction and counter-revolution, and against the reactionary overlords, we have waged in the solidarity movement. This is also the second time that the revisionist and trotskyist alliance has made a flimsy attempt at floating its "own" organisation. (The first attempt was made during the winter-spring of 1970).

In both the major struggles which have taken place, the key question was what attitude do we take towards the building of the Solidarity Movement? On what basis should we build it? What is the role of the in-



dividual members and nationalities in the Solidarity Movement? It was agreed upon that 1. The Solidarity Movement will never be used as a platform against the communists, and 2. All contradictions will be sorted out on the mass democratic basis. Three basic political lines were agreed upon: 1. Resolute support for the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, 2. Resolute opposition to racist attacks on our people in Canada and Quebec, and 3. Full support to the anti-imperialist revolution in Canada and the national liberation struggle in Quebec. This was a just political programme and a just way of handling contradictions in executing the programme.

Right from the beginning, the ultra-leftists and rightists agreed with the programme in words, but opposed it in practice. They were led by individual overlords who put themselves over and above the discipline of the Solidarity Movement, over and above the genuine aspirations of their own national groups. So these reactionary overlords, with their hollow bluster, tried to use the Solidarity Movement for their own purposes. Instead of upholding principle, uniting with one another in the national groups and, through these groups, uniting in the Solidarity Movement, they attempted to build their own fiefdoms and tried to dismember and liquidate the Solidarity Movement. They deliberately spread the counter-revolutionary propaganda that the Solidarity Movement is only "anti-imperialist" and not "communist", and through this technique they went ahead to 1. Impose revisionist and trotskyist politics on the Solidarity Movement, 2. Stifle discussion on general political and organisational orientation by using arbitrary methods, and 3. Split and dismember the Solidarity Movement.

In the second meeting of the Solidarity Movement, struggle was waged against those who, while they agreed with the political programme and the organisational method of carrying it out, arrogantly declared: "I don't have to put it into practice."

The two cliques which emerged since the foundation of the Solidarity Movement had their own overlords, both using the same rhetoric of being "anti-imperialist" and not "communist", and both virulently opposed to discipline. They behaved in the same way when it came to dismembering the Solidarity Movement by attacking the leadership, creating gossips and slanders upholding no principle and confounding right and wrong, engaging in conspiracies, opposing mass democracy and opposing any principled unity.

Ideologically, organisationally and politically, the ultra-leftists and rightists have gone bankrupt and have become hysterical in their opposition to Marxism-Leninism and in their promotion of racism (See

Footnote 1) Just let's look at the trash they have been peddling. They say that "Afro-Asians" are "more revolutionary" than North Americans; that "we only have a responsibility towards our own countries and we will not participate in revolutionary struggle here." Is this not rabid chauvinism and racism? One would not call it proletarian internationalism! It does not matter how many absurd rationalisations they concoct, these ultra-leftists and rightists can only fool themselves. Proletarian internationalism is extremely well-known to all genuine communists, especially to Canadian and Quebec communists who gave birth to such a great proletarian internationalist as Norman Bethune in whose memory Chairman Mao wrote: **"What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, from which every communist must learn."** These "Afro-Asians" are such "proletarian internationalists" that they can only "organise revolution" in their "own" countries! Furthermore, in Montreal they refused to attend the Function 'In Memory of Norman Bethune' while they find time to indulge in every lumpen, communal and liberal activity. While they have no time to sit with the communists by taking up the correct road of UNITY-STRUGGLE-TRANSFORMATION, in opposition to DISUNITY-NO STRUGGLE-STAGNATION, they do have time to abuse them. In fact, in Quebec some of these characters have become so arrogant and wild that they behave like imperialist lords and vilify the Quebecois Marxist-Leninists and other progressive people. They have joined the ranks of the U.S. imperialists and imperialists from other countries to attack the Quebecois Marxist-Leninists and other progressive people. Is it this attitude of vilification of the progressive people which makes them "more revolutionary" than North Americans?

The ultra-leftists and the rightists work hand in hand: while the rightists, through metaphysics and idealism, concoct all the possible "objections" the "people" will have to the correct line, the ultra-leftists, close brothers of the rightists, extend the correct line into as "pure left" a line as possible (that is, they make it as incorrect as possible), again through metaphysics and idealism, and they disrupt the organisation by fighting the genuine Marxist-Leninists on that basis. Instead of concretely changing the situation in a step-wise manner, the rightists and the ultra-left, attempt to liquidate the movement even before it starts growing. It is the history of over two and a half years that the ultra-left and the rightists attempted to liquidate the movement while the genuine Marxist-Leninists led by Comrade Bains helped the overall development against this degeneration and built the organisation amongst the people.

Comrade Bains was present in the founding meeting of the movement as well as in all its phases of development. Apart from having organisational objections (that is, agreeing in words but having the divine right not to put the programme into practice), the rightists also objected to China being considered the bastion of the world anti-imperialist revolution. Comrade Bains correctly pointed out that on this question we will maintain our view that "China is the base of world anti-imperialist revolution" while we will not call for a split on this question. He advocated that it was the duty of the genuine Marxist-Leninists to teach other comrades and not to browbeat them while, at the same time, they must never accede to the rightist demands that in our speeches we should make no mention of China. The ultra-left, seizing the opportunity of excellent revolutionary public opinion for China because of our work, pushed a resolution in May 1969, saying that China is the bastion of world anti-imperialist revolution. After the resolution was passed, the ultra-left, left off there without doing the painstaking work of showing other comrades and friends the basis for this correct formulation. Soon after this the rightists regrouped and while they had no strength to pass their resolutions, they began conspiracies and intrigues.

When Kosygin visited Asia in August of 1969, the solidarity movement denounced his visit and the resolution was widely acclaimed. The rightists did not "like" this. Comrade Bains vigorously advocated that we should use this opportunity to have lengthy debates and discussions amongst the members and supporters on the question of social-imperialism and after these discussions take a stand on social-imperialism. The rightists ran into a panic. They opposed this just stand. They used their position on the editorial board of the **Afro-Asian**, the newspaper of the Solidarity Movement, to arbitrarily peddle the counter-revolutionary line that the Soviet Union is a "socialist state." While doing this propaganda for social-imperialism, they further degenerated into usurping the organisation altogether, refusing to call an organisational meeting and forming all sorts of anti-communist alliances without the knowledge of the organisation and finally splitting from the organisation.

While the Solidarity Movement was being organised, the Communist Parties of Canada and Quebec (Marxist-Leninist) showed keen interest in it and considered it as the Solidarity Movement of the Canadian and Quebec working classes towards Asia, Africa and Latin America. In order to help its development, the Party established the October First Branch as the Marxist-Leninist Centre for Afro-Asians with two basic goals: 1. To provide leadership in the Solidarity Movement by doing painstaking

work in it, and 2. To encourage Afro-Asians resident in Canada and Quebec to espouse Marxism-Leninism and join the Party. The October First Branch under the leadership of the Party, did excellent work in guiding the Solidarity Movement. With the splitting of the rightists from the Solidarity Movement in March 1970, the October First Branch played a tremendous role and was warmly received by the members and supporters of the Solidarity Movement. Because the genuine Marxist-Leninists had no interest of their own, independent of the Solidarity Movement and its original political programme, they worked hard to lead the anti-imperialist revolution on this front.

With the rightists temporarily defeated, the organisation's growth and general development of revolution, gave the ultra-left a good opportunity to rise again. This time they used the October First Branch to attack the Solidarity Movement and later, the Solidarity Movement to attack the Party. They played fantastic tricks. They tried to substitute the October First Branch, which was a special committee under the leadership of the National Executive of the Party, for the basic unit in some areas and tried to use it to attack or take over the basic unit, whatever suited them best.

They literally ran wild in June and July of 1971 and later declared themselves "independent" of the Party. In the October First Branch meeting, they received three votes with one vacillation while seven people resolutely opposed them. Then they declared themselves "independent" of the October First Branch and tried to use the Solidarity Movement to attack the Party. In the Solidarity Movement they used the same tricks as the rightists did: 1. Refusal to call a national meeting, 2. Use of our publication to change the line, and 3. Splitting from the Solidarity Movement. (It is very interesting that they split from the Solidarity Movement supposedly because of their "differences" with the Party while, in fact, it is the Solidarity Movement they are opposing, as the Party fully agrees with and supports the original political programme of the Solidarity Movement.)

The ultra-left is more creative than the right and more dishonest. This is the only aspect that differentiates them from the rightists because in all basic policies ultra-leftists and the rightists are the same. The ultra-left, which arose in the summer of 1971, is constituted of 1. Nazis, 2. Communalists, and 3. Liberals. Their basic unity is based on opposing the Party and revolution. They are national chauvinists and anti-communists. They are doing everything to corrode the revolutionary movement amongst the Afro-Asians from within. Ideologically, they indulge in "left" phrasemongering and practice extreme rightist politics. Organisationally, they



are past masters in building fascist cliques. They despise three basic things the most: 1. Revolutionary principle, 2. Revolutionary struggle, and 3. The revolutionary Party. They are a wretched type of neo-trotskyist and neo-revisionist as they go from one position to the other with extreme love of shamelessness and hysterical espousal of idealism and metaphysics. With them gone, the Solidarity Movement is bound to make another leap forward.

Since their arbitrary take-over of our journal **Solidarity**, they produced one issue. They took extreme pains to make sure that only "their" politics and the politics of "their" allies should be reflected there. In order to hide their sordid face they made extensive use of sophistry and of quotations from Chairman Mao and writings of a revolutionary journal from India called **Liberation**. They carefully omitted any mention of activities from Toronto and the rest of Canada and refrained from talking about the revolutionary struggles right here in Canada and Quebec. In other words, they tailor-made reality to fit their stinking face and produced this issue lavishly financing it and arrogantly distributing it, abusing anyone who raised objections to it. They made special use of the lumpen elements in their clique to push this counter-revolutionary trash. They got tremendous support from the nazis, (the book shop run by the nazis carried it), and those who previously split from the Solidarity Movement. Why they distributed this publication so wildly and why the lumpen elements enjoyed it so much we will attempt to answer.

This publication has the following main features:

- I It peddled Khrushchevite revisionism, and
- II It confounds right and wrong.

**1. Khrushchevite revisionism:** In the editorial "commemorating" the twenty-second anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the ultra-left writes: "Because of the correct policy of China, a broad United Front of the world's people against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs is steadily developing. China enters into various negotiations because the threat of war still exists. Negotiations and war form a dialectical unity of opposites. In accordance with the great strategic concept of Chairman Mao '**Be Prepared Against Natural Disasters, And Do Everything For The People**', the Chinese people have made tremendous advances. Because of the strength of the anti-imperialist front, and because of China's own preparedness China is in a good position to enter into various negotiations and achieve strategic victory over imperialism and reaction"!

We would call this an excellent example of pushing Khrushchevite politics under "left" phrase mongering. The ultra-left muddles everyth-



ing up. It is an order of disorder in their heads which excites these reactionaries. Let us look at every sentence individually and then in relationship to other sentences and the overall quotation.

1. "Because of the correct policy of China, a broad United Front of the world's people against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs is steadily developing." This is a correct formulation as far as it goes but it only talks about China's role, and treats the role of the world's people very superficially. The question is: Can China, a country ravaged by colonialism, militarism and imperialism during a period of reconstruction and during a period of liberating all her territories and safeguarding her independence, do other than follow the foreign policies of the 'three resolute and one more'? The 'three resolute and one more' is the policy of Chairman Mao, as opposed to the 'three capitulations and one less' followed by the revisionists. That is, resolute opposition to imperialism, resolute opposition to revisionism, resolute opposition to all reaction and more support to the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world, versus capitulation to imperialism, capitulation to revisionism, capitulation to all reaction and less support to the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world. China can never change this overall policy today or ever-after and the Chinese people will never prostrate themselves in front of imperialism, revisionism or reaction. Secondly, China's policies are consistent with the deep aspirations of the people of the world. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution. A broad united front is developing because of the second factor which is a decisive one. China's foreign policy reflects the deep desires and aspirations of the people of China and the world and it is the deep desire of the Chinese people and the peoples of the world which control the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China and not the other way around — that the deep desires of the peoples of China and the world are controlled by the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China.

Talking superficially simply means that "China's correct policy" is the basis of the "broad united front" and that when this policy changes there will be no broad united front. It is the same wishful thinking on which the imperialists pin their hopes — that once capitalism is restored in the Soviet Union, the revolutionary struggles will cease. Like the imperialists, our ultra-left also minimizes the significance and inevitability of the world's people rising and overthrowing imperialism, revisionism and all reaction. The Chinese people, like the Russian people, have made tremendous contribution towards the liberation of mankind and we are certain that they will never deviate from this correct path. But this super-

ficiality of analysis we could have ignored if the following sentence had clarified the situation. In fact, the following sentences put light on any ambiguity left over by the first sentence and “clarify” what these editors support and show the real reactionary nature of the writers, exposing their Khrushchevite revisionism.

2. “China enters various negotiations because the threat of war still exists.” This is real “Camp David” spirit. Here our revisionist theoreticians are caught. Dear sirs, China “enters various negotiations” not because of “threat of war” but because China always supported just negotiations — that is, negotiations which assist the basic aspirations of the people of the world, and China always opposes unjust negotiations. China has all along followed this policy. As far as the question of “threat of war” is concerned, China has ruled out any possibility of averting it through negotiations. Chairman Mao has clearly stated: **“There are but two possibilities. One is that war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent war.”** You can clearly see that China’s stand is on the side of revolution. Whether it comes with war or with the elimination of war, ultimately only revolution will eliminate war. Only Khrushchev peddled such muck that Russia enters various negotiations because the threat of war still exists.

3. The following sentence tries to take refuge in “dialectics” and provides the “material” basis of Khrushchevism and there the editors also fail miserably: “Negotiations and war form a dialectical unity of opposites.” Fantastic concoction! Is the opposite of war negotiations? In terms of the struggle of opposites, the opposite of war is peace and the opposite of negotiations is no negotiations. War has seeds of peace in it; that is, seeds of its opposite, and peace has seeds of war in it until the entire basis of disruption of peace, that is, exploitation of man by man, is eliminated — that is, until class society is abolished. Between the two contending aspects of war and peace, peace is primary while war is secondary. The more we oppose unjust wars through organising social revolutions all over the world, the more lasting peace will prosper. Concrete analysis of the real world shows that war gives rise to peace and peace gives rise to war and that this has been the feature of the class society and will remain so until class society is liquidated altogether.

Negotiations are only a form of struggle. Negotiations could be just, as well as unjust. They could take place in peacetime or wartime. They could give rise to war or peace — the only dialectical opposite of negotiations is no-negotiations and that is the only inherent quality and material inevitability. How did our “dialecticians” get things muddled up? The only way they could do so is if they follow the Khrushchevite

revisionist line of not seeking truth from facts but of concocting "facts" to suit their counter-revolution. It was Khrushchev who believed that negotiations and war form a dialectical unity of opposites and vilified China and Chairman Mao as "war mongers".

4. The use of the next quotation from Chairman Mao is "left" phrase-mongering in order to cover up their Khrushchevite revisionism: "In accordance with the great strategic concept of Chairman Mao **"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"**, the Chinese people have made tremendous advances." What does this quotation of Chairman Mao's mean? One thing to the Chinese people who resolutely uphold that only revolution will eliminate war or war will give rise to revolution and thus to prepare for it at all times, while for Khrushchevite revisionists it means "preparing for negotiations." For what other reason did they stick this quotation here? The quotation from Chairman Mao certainly does not support Khrushchevite revisionism, so why are they using it here? Merely to cover up their "left" phrase-mongering as they do in the editorial all round.

5. The last sentence sums up Khrushchevite revisionism firmly: "Because of the strength of the anti-imperialist front, and because of China's own preparedness, China is in a good position to enter into various negotiations and achieve strategic victory over imperialism and reaction." Well done, you pious ultra-left! We heartily congratulate you for your self-exposure! So, the "strength of anti-imperialist front" and "China's own preparedness" would lead to "strategic victory over imperialism" through "negotiations." Is this what you call "China's correct foreign policy"? When China was under foreign domination (part of China still is) and was "weak" (China still is) and the "anti-imperialist front" was weak (the anti-imperialist front is still weak) what did the Chinese do? Just engaged in revolutionary war and "no negotiations" and now with "China's preparedness" and the "strength of the anti-imperialist front", China has "changed" its strategy of "no negotiations and all war" to "no war and all negotiations"? If you do not mean this then what are you jabbering about? It is social-imperialism which is talking through you. It was Khrushchev who arrogantly boasted about the "Soviet Union's preparedness", the "strength of the anti-imperialist front", to oppose all revolutionary national liberation struggles and advocate "winning strategic victory over imperialism" through negotiations! When you peddle this stuff you are also opposing the national liberation struggles and supporting imperialism.

In relationship, all the paragraph supports — 1. Khrushchevite

revisionism, and 2. Uses Chairman Mao's quotation to make it look "good" but the attempt to do so fails miserably. The over all political line is that of Khrushchevite revisionism and nothing else.

**Confounding right from wrong:** Part of the issue of **Solidarity** is tailor-made to applaud those who are and have been notorious in peddling anti-communism and racism, creating rumours and gossips about China, and to denounce those who have been engaged in upholding what is just and doing so persistently and in a thorough-going manner. This attitude is exemplified by an attack on the **Indian Progressive Study Group** and in praising "Iranian students".

#### **A. Attack On Indian Progressive Study Group**

As the editors have used quotations from Chairman Mao to peddle Khrushchevite revisionism through their editorial, so they have used the journal of our fraternal Marxist-Leninist Party, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) called **Liberation** to attack the **Indian Progressive Study Group**. In their wild attack on the IPSPG, the editors write: "We produced an article in the May issue of **Solidarity** based on the statement of the **Indian Progressive Study Group**. That article, while in the main correct and was consistent with the article being reproduced below, contained errors in the analysis. While the call that the current counter-revolutionary civil war is bound to lead to a revolutionary civil war against feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, it did not give a correct analysis of the present ruling class of Pakistan. It over-emphasised the progressive stands of President Yahya Kahn's government and under-emphasized its reactionary nature. The article in **Liberation** which is reproduced below, should help people to see things clearly and combat both ultra-left and rightist errors on Pakistan — (ed. **Solidarity**)."

This is a wilful distortion of the political line of IPSPG as well as clever mystification as to the role of IPSPG, class struggle in IPSPG and criminal distortions of the editors of **Solidarity** who merely exonerate themselves by saving that "an article in the May issue of the **Solidarity** based on the statement of the **Indian Progressive Study Group** while in the main correct contained some errors in the analysis" and become pious saviours of people by saying that they want "people to see things clearly and combat both ultra-left and rightist errors on Pakistan". Because the editors of **Solidarity** have utter contempt for scientific analysis and much love for guesswork and gossip, it is they who were the architects of the rightist position and ultra-left position on Pakistan. This much was conveyed to one of these reactionaries and to several other people and they were called upon to refrain from guesswork. It was not the **Indian Progressive Study Group** which made any errors in analysis but cer-



tain individuals who have utter contempt for scientific analysis and who love the liberal approach of dealing with questions of great importance to the people. Meanwhile, IPSC was in the forefront of **1.** Opposing the intervention into the internal affairs of Pakistan, and **2.** Supporting the armed agrarian revolution led by the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist). IPSC, together with Pakistan Progressive Study Group, worked extremely hard to defeat the champions of "Bangla Desh", while these individuals who are making pious statements on "combatting rightist and ultra-left errors" were sitting conspiring as to how to undermine the activities of IPSC and PPSC. Their shamelessness shows itself when they claim that their article was "in the main correct". If that is the case, then why is it necessary to write that it "contained errors in analysis"? We would suggest that the reasons for so doing are two-fold: **1.** To cover up their role in not opposing "Bangla Desh" and, in fact of later making flimsy alliances with those who supported "Bangla Desh", and **2.** To cover up the role played by IPSC and PPSC in opposing "Bangla Desh" in Toronto and several other places. It was because of the work of these groups in Toronto and several other places that when Stanley Burke came to the University of Toronto to speak about "Bangla Desh" only 13 people turned up to listen. Is the practice of supporting the two-fold activity of **1.** Doing nothing to oppose "Bangla Desh" counter-revolutionary propaganda (the only meeting opposing "Bangla Desh" in Montreal was organised by IPSC during the last week of March, 1971, and later in the Fall when the reactionaries in IPSC, who are also the architects of the attack on IPSC, were stopped from their liquidationist activities during October and November), and of **2.** Covering up and distorting the role of IPSC and PPSC, combatting "ultra-leftist and rightist errors" on the question of Pakistan? We would suggest that this is not the case. This reactionary attitude, in fact, is what sanctifies the ultra-left and rightist errors.

These dogmatists are suggesting that an article from **Liberation** will combat "ultra-left and rightist errors" without they themselves having to lift a finger in the real world, while they have made no mention of those who have been actively engaged in combatting ultra-left and rightist errors in practice. This is called **waving the "Red Flag" to oppose the Red Flag.**

#### **B. Praise of "Iranian Students".**

There is a lumpen element from Iran living in Montreal and they have friends in Vancouver, New York and other places. We have known some of these elements for over six years and most of them for over three years. They have continuously supported an organisation called "CONFEDERATION OF IRANIAN STUDENTS" which according to many sources is a



CIA organisation, but the most important for us is that this organisation is essentially anti-communist, anti-democratic and at crucial times takes reactionary positions on all important questions. We oppose this organisation having any influence in Canada and Quebec and we call upon any of the people who come in contact with us to take a just stand and not support this organisation. When these lumpen elements from Iran were in contact with us they continuously supported this Confederation while we struggled with them that they should oppose it. In the heat of struggle and in the face of scientific analysis and facts they would agree in words but go against the just position in practice. Over the years they have been responsible for much disruption in Vancouver and Montreal and are one of the groups dedicated to sowing confusion in the progressive circles through rumour-mongering, etc. Last year, the Confederation denounced China, showing their real reactionary fangs. All CIA groups made good use of the statement. These lumpen elements did not denounce the statement nor the Confederation which showed up their real reactionary nature. Their stock argument was that "in private" "we oppose" the statement and the Confederation but, in public, we don't because this 'may split our group'.

After months of nonsensical discussions, they hatched a good scheme of making a statement that neither denounced the Confederation nor supported China's just position but sowed further confusion. That statement has now been issued and printed in **Solidarity** under the auspices of the "Iranian Students' Association — Canada-Quebec". The following paragraph totally exposes the counter-revolutionary line of these lumpen elements: "We are making this statement to expose the unrepresentative character of the so-called 'open-letter' to Premier Chou En-Lai sent in the name of the 'Confederation of Iranian Students'. We urge upon all other anti-imperialist Iranian groups and organisations to denounce this practice of the 'Executive' of the 'Confederation'." While the main character of the Confederation is its reactionary politics which it has pursued over the years, these lumpen elements are telling us that the "open letter" was a departure from their usual policy, and that it "is the product of some bureaucrats in the Executive of the 'Confederation'."

The two examples cited above clearly show the real nature of the editors of **Solidarity** of confounding right and wrong: Instead of clearly attacking the "Confederation of Iranian Students" and their lumpen friends in Montreal, it took refuge in saying that there is something "good" in the Confederation. At the same time, instead of praising and summing up the experience of vigorous struggles launched by IPSG and

PPSG against “Bangla Desh” counter-revolutionary propaganda, these editors are saying there is something “bad” about them. This is Khrushchevite revisionism of confounding right and wrong. Khrushchev also found something “good” in the Indian National Congress, in Jawaral Lal Nehru and in U.S. imperialists, and praised them, while he found something “bad” about the People’s Republic of China, the People’s Republic of Albania, Chairman Mao and Enver Hoxha and denounced them. This is the way of the modern day wretched type of revisionists. The editors of **Solidarity** belong to this category. In their actual practical work, they have been following this line of finding something “good” in anti-Party and anti-Comrade Bains elements — that is, in anti-communist and racist elements; while they find something “bad” about the Party members and supporters, the followers of Comrade Bains — that is, about the Marxist-Leninist organisations in Canada and Quebec. This is called using a microscope to find faults in the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, and looking through a telescope to gloss over the activities of the anti-Marxist-Leninists and reactionaries. The editors of this issue of **Solidarity** are past masters in doing this.

The editors as well as the lumpen elements from Iran are trying to create the impression that they are the defenders of the People’s Republic of China against the attacks of the “Progressive Labour Party” and the “Canadian Party of Labour”. The editorial characterizes these organisations as “‘left sloganeering’ front of U.S. imperialism.” We fully agree with that. But to what extent are the editors themselves different to these organisations? The answer comes easily if we deal with the question of the attitude of the two organisations and of the editors towards handling contradictions amongst the people. We would suggest that the two are the same. Both participate in rumour-mongering and mud-slinging as the method of covering up their counter-revolutionary ideas and both are afraid to bring their ideas to be tested amongst the masses, and both oppose democratic centralism and mass democracy. These common points have their origin in their counter-revolutionary ideology and political line. Our analysis concretely shows that while “Progressive Labour Party” and the “Canadian Party of Labour” are the “left-sloganeering” front of U.S. imperialism, the editors of the present issue of **Solidarity** are the “left-sloganeering” front of Khrushchevite revisionism. All our comrades and friends should look into these groups seriously. Innumerable facts show how the two groups have peddled open imperialist and social-imperialist attacks on national liberation and on the genuinely Marxist-Leninist movement in Canada and Quebec, and both have used the name of the People’s Republic of China and

Chairman Mao to participate in their nefarious counter-revolutionary deeds. While "PLP" and "CPL" claim that "all negotiations are reactionary", the editors of **Solidarity** push the Khrushchevite revisionist line of "all negotiations are revolutionary at this time".

Both these groups have no support in Canada, Quebec or the U.S. and it for this reason that they have become hysterical in opposing communism and promoting racism. The great modern proletariat of North America has said No! to all these metaphysicians and idealist rogues and political swindlers. During the sixties all these tendencies came up and have been steadily put into a passive position by the rising genuinely Marxist-Leninist movement in Canada-Quebec and the United States. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have also put these tendencies into passive position and genuinely Marxist-Leninist movements are surging forward there also. China stands as the bright red sun in the East and Albania is the compass for revolutionary movements in Europe. While these tendencies have been put into passive positions, our comrades and friends should remain extremely vigilant and guard against these tendencies becoming dominant or putting the genuinely Marxist-Leninist movement into a passive position.

The Great Lenin of our era, Chairman Mao, has issued a great call to all Marxist-Leninists: **Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite and don't split; be open and above-board, and don't intrigue and conspire.** For us Marxist-Leninists this is a great help and pathfinder in our work. Our enemies in the Solidarity Movement as well as in the Party have always tried to defeat us by **1. Practicing revisionism, 2. Splitting, and 3. Intriguing and conspiring.** We will certainly oppose these three evils of social-imperialism by upholding the three revolutionary lines of **1. Practising Marxism, 2. Uniting, and 3. Remaining above-board.** Under the leadership of Comrade Bains we have always practised these three revolutionary guidelines of Chairman Mao, and by doing so we have been able to defeat the ultra-leftists and the rightists. Following these guidelines now we will certainly win victory.

#### **Footnote 1:**

Elsewhere in the editorial, these "Afro-Asian" saints viciously attack the revolutionary struggle in North America. They write: "This sloganeering has little support in Asia, Africa and Latin America where national liberation struggle is very high and where accounts with imperialism are being settled on the battlefield. But it has some temporary currency in North America where the revolutionary mass movement has not yet defeated empirio-criticism, idealism and other bourgeois ideological trends." This is rabid chauvinism and the theory of

"Exceptionalism". In their wild arrogance to oppose the revolutionary struggle in North America and to detach it from that of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, they have hatched this theory. Is it true that "empirio-criticism, idealism and other bourgeois ideological trends" are defeated in Asia, Africa and Latin America? If this is the case, then the very basis of "empirio-criticism, idealism and other bourgeois ideological trends" must have been wiped out in Asia, Africa and Latin America! That is, just by settling "accounts with imperialism ... on the battlefield", they are wiped out! What an empirio-critical, idealist and bourgeois analysis! Khrushchev raved for years that "class struggle had died out in the Soviet Union" and now we have our "fighters" from Asia, Africa and Latin America telling us that it is finished there! Would you not call this "sloganeering"? You anti-communists and racists, you should know that these trends are very much present in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and you are one of the representatives of these trends. In China where the "accounts with imperialism" have "been settled on the battlefield" and the Chinese people are determined to settle these accounts further and liberate Taiwan and safeguard all China, "empirio-criticism, idealism, and other bourgeois ideological trends" have not been eliminated but these trends attempt time and again to show up and defeat the gains made by the Chinese people on the battlefield against imperialism and reaction. India has long suffered from these empirio-critical, idealist and bourgeois ideological trends. Today, there are reactionaries like Nagi Reddy, Satya Narayan, etc. who are raising their heads to oppose Marxism-Leninism. There is not a single country in Asia, Africa or Latin America which has not suffered from these trends. Instead of denouncing these trends, the "Afro-Asians" denounce the "revolutionary mass movement" for not "completely" defeating "empirio-criticism, idealism and other bourgeois ideological trends". It is a good justification for these chauvinists and racists to divide people against one another and peddle their counter-revolutionary nonsense that "Afro-Asians" are more 'revolutionary' than North Americans.

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**From Montreal, Sunday, Nov. 7, 1971**

...Today, a group of us (two Indians, three Haitians, three from Trinidad and some of us) had a meeting — all of us were somehow involved in A.A. At the present some of H's guys, as usual, have started sabotaging A.A. (just like the Trotskytes) and even though organisationally we are running A.A., very soon these people will declare that A.A. is theirs, etc. Our strategy is to tell them O.K. it is all yours and we will continue our work and change the name of the group. Because, the name is not really important (or even whoever has started it, for instance Plekhanov started the Social Democratic Party in Russia but it was Lenin who developed it) rather it is the political work of individuals that will disseminate Marxist-Leninist ideas — as a result, our program will be, **above all**, political work and dissemination and accurate understanding of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought among our nationalities. On this basis the group will meet every week and will precisely discuss the problems of the international communist movement, particularly in our own countries. Also, we will discuss important issues about China and the Communist Party of China and try to relate them to our minute experience (we all believe that we have to study it and unite on specific issues).

In accordance, we will continue our political work too, particularly among our own nationalities. In terms of political work and defending our political rights we have come to this conclusion that struggle against deportation is an important aspect of the struggle against racial discrimination, because this weapon of reactionaries, deportation, stops all kinds of political work. That is, the struggle against deportation will open up a path toward the struggle against discrimination and political repression. It is an important aspect of our struggle in Canada. Do not misunderstand, this would not be our only task — that is we all will participate in this struggle, also disseminating political ideas and explaining them to the Quebec people is very very important and is one of our important tasks. The name of the group will be Afro-Asian Latin American Group (M-L) (this is not a party). And occasionally we will publish necessary publications. One of our first tasks is to study political issues of A.A. and ourselves and a group self-criticism about our wrong-doings and wrong political lines.

The main problem which has not yet been formulated is **left sec-**



**tarianism**, that is criticizing without building a group and a political line. Of course, this is clearly obvious in the so-called Party of Canada (M-L). We will have an analysis of each group and if there is an attack against communism and the correct policies of China, under the name of communism and Marxism-Leninism, we will definitely put forward the correct issue (it is liberalism if we keep quiet). But parties like the Black Panthers, etc., even if they have some correct and some incorrect lines should not be criticised but rather their historical development and their good work has to be shown (of course, all of this talk is about the future and that is if we come across it — our first task is a study of our past actions and comparing it with Marxism-Leninism).

Another point is that even though I said at the beginning of this letter how many people (and where from) were in this meeting, nevertheless it is agreed that this group stays completely secret and in practice we will follow this. The reason that I wrote this to you is just for your information and I have decided to send you a report and a summation of our discussions every week, that is if you want it. I will write you more about this issue.

## **DECISION OF THE THIRD PLENUM NUMBER 22**

The third plenum took a definite line ON THE QUESTION OF JACK SCOTT being admitted to the Party. The comrades concerned provided a detailed report on his activities since 1966 and our relations with him. It was clearly pointed out that this entire period of six years has been characterized by:

On our part — Extremely friendly attitude towards him but, at no time, did we hide our views on all political, ideological and organisational questions for the purposes of “unity” and, in fact, the entire history of our organisation is clear witness to our general line that we have remained above-board and developed our organisation while we have maintained friendly relations with others and tried to win them over.

On his part — Extreme hostility and vilification of our comrades calling them “sectarians”, “adventurists” and culminating in a wild attack on us in November, 1969 and continuous propagation of gossip and slander against us without ever doing detailed and thorough-going analysis and quite blatantly pushing the nonsense that “it is methods of work which he disagrees with” while he “agrees with the general political line”.

It has been proven that it is the general political line and analysis of the situation in Canada and how to change it where we disagree and that this disagreement is not a mere matter of difference in "point of view" but a class question and class difference. The comrades pointed out that the Party was entirely correct to attempt to win over those individuals who are taking an incorrect position. It is slander to suggest that we have behaved in any under-handed manner.

Our organisation formally approached Jack Scott and his now defunct organisation, PWM, twice: 1. February 1969 and 2. January 1972. Both times we made our position clear. In the first instance, we agreed that there should be only one Marxist-Leninist centre in B.C. and that we considered his organisation to be Marxist-Leninist (our grave mistake but it was correct to be put on the right path by making mistakes) and that we will not organise in B.C. and that our members will join his organisation. This decision was converted into a bourgeois trick by these swindlers. The propaganda began immediately through their friends that the INTERNATIONALISTS considered them as "Marxist-Leninists" but they made no statement as to whether the INTERNATIONALISTS were Marxist-Leninists or not (as if their declaration will sprout Marxism-Leninism in our midst and we will transform into that at that moment) thus confusing and mystifying the very basis we sat with them which was: In each area of Canada, there should be only one Marxist-Leninist centre.

Firstly, if we were not Marxist-Leninists then why were they sitting with us and signing joint declarations. If we go beyond the words of Jack Scott and other members of his defunct organisation, then their sitting with us was a manoeuvre to liquidate the Marxist-Leninist centre in B.C. by stopping us from organising here. But it backfired. Our organisation kept on gloriously marching forward.

Secondly, as far as we were concerned, we did not ask them whether we are Marxist-Leninists or not because: 1. One does not become Marxist-Leninist by the declarations of others (one becomes Marxist-Leninist by resolutely opposing the bourgeoisie in the real world and struggling against its influence in the Party) and 2. We were not discussing the formation of centres in Toronto or Montreal (where we were organising) and if they had tried to organise there we would certainly have demanded an explanation and their pants would have been down even sooner.

The agreement they had with us in February, 1969 was violated by them without any discussion with us whatsoever. The second time we approached him formally was in January 1972. The reason for this was explained to him in detail and even a written document was given to him so

that he could study it and think about it. We made several proposals to him. The main ones were: If he would like to 1. Join the Presidium, 2. Join the Central Committee and 3. Become a member of the Party.

Knowing that we disagreed on many issues then why did we invite him? This reason was explained to him during his visit to the east and again later in two meetings with the comrades concerned. The reasons were that we would like all those who claim themselves to be Marxist-Leninist to be in one Party and that by enlarging the Central Committee we would hear the views of all tendencies and struggle with them to adopt the correct view. We are also inviting others to do the same. By offering him a position on the Presidium, we wanted his views to be heard and then we could also give the views of the Party and real class struggle on various questions could take place. The Chairman of the Presidium is in no way the Chairman of the Party and all this we fully explained to him. As to membership in the Party, it was quite obvious that he was coming close to the Party in Vancouver and it was only just to invite him to join. His response to these three main proposals was 1. To accept membership in the Party (and we asked him several times whether we should make it public or not and he agreed that people from the left circles who ask should be told), 2. To think about joining the Central Committee of the Party and 3. To reject our proposal to be on the Presidium.

For our part, the formal working together began after these agreements in January, 1972. But as soon as we turned our backs, the same nonsense started again. Friends of Jack Scott began their chorus slandering and wildly attacking the CPC(M-L), maligning Comrade Bains calling him a "double-dealer" etc. (Many ex-PWMers are pretty good racists and used to call Comrade Bains by all sorts of names) and as soon as it came to our notice, one of our comrades went to see him and he dished out his attack. Another meeting was arranged and he did not keep the meeting and it was clear that Jack Scott had answered our friendly attitude with hostility in the same manner which his now defunct organisation had done before.

This particular break in our relationship led us to look into the matter even more closely. We looked into his own work. The overall conclusion is that the organisation he led collapsed. Then we looked into his contribution to the youth and students movement. We found that it is he who encouraged the "radicals" to remain in that position and take a "critical attitude towards Marxism", "critical attitude towards China", etc. We also found that the united front organisations like CNLF collapsed because of PWM and that they supported all sorts of reformism, etc.

We also looked into our own organisation, our relations with PWM and Jack Scott and through this examination we came to the conclusion that the reason for the collapse of PWM was Jack Scott who is anti-revisionist in words and revisionist in deeds. The comrades explained to the Central Committee members and this is our conclusion that all relations with Jack Scott should be broken, his wild attacks opposed publicly and certainly if he is willing to keep the contradiction non-antagonistic we should certainly keep it on that plane but with a difference that — whenever a friend of Jack Scott's comes around to villify and malign us and praise him we should tell this friend what we think of him and go over the entire history of the last nine years of the INTERNATIONALISTS.

A large number of Central Committee members know Jack Scott and his now defunct organisation PWM quite well and especially Dave Danielson who was in PWM before. They all agreed that the report presented was just and that Jack Scott has shown himself in practice to be anti-revisionist in words and revisionist in deeds and that he should be immediately informed of our decision. Our comrade in charge of building relations pointed out that we always had the sentiment that Jack should lead the Canadian revolution. Now we know why he did not respond to our pleadings: He is ANTI-REVISIONIST IN WORDS AND REVISIONIST IN DEEDS.

After hearing the views of various comrades the third plenum of the twenty-first Central Committee of the CPC(M-L) decided to break all relations with Jack Scott and resolutely explain the decision to all members and close supporters. It must be pointed out that if Jack Scott shows willingness to be friendly and would like to give his views we would certainly cooperate and print his views in the Internal Mass Line.

It was noted that this short history of Jack Scott and his now defunct organisation produced in Internal Mass Line is in no way detailed and that it would be a good idea sometime in the future to write down the entire history; particularly the list of fascist attacks on our comrades by the now defunct PWM and all their attacks on China, Mao Tsetung Thought, Peking Review, etc.

### **DECISION OF THE THIRD PLENUM NUMBER 13**

The third plenum established the Presidium as the permanent consultative body to the National Executive Committee or any other bodies of the Party and with no authority to speak in the name of any other body but itself and that any member of the Presidium can be replaced or new members added by the National Executive Committee.

## DECISION OF THE THIRD PLENUM NUMBER 15

The third plenum established the National Consultative Conference of CPC(M-L) as a permanent form where all candidate members, close supporters and full members will be invited to take part under the leadership of the Presidium but with no power over the NEC or any other bodies of the Party and with no authority to speak in the name of any other body nor itself and that the NEC has final say in all matters decided by this Conference and that the NEC has every right to replace or add new members to this body.

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**The following is the full text of the letter referred to in item 12, Lies, Slanders and Character Assassinations Won't Change the Course of History.**

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Sid:

I arrived in Vancouver during the evening of the 24th, after a brief meet with Carlson in Winnipeg. Locally they didn't know when I was arriving and were in a real frenzy. Propagating that secrecy bullshit continues to have the desired effect. I took a cab to August's place (5362 Joyce Road). He is still using the alias "John Cowell" and was living with Claire (to each his own). The Vancouver movement had arranged and paid for a unit at the Caribou Motel where I went directly from August's. This was more than I anticipated. Having a motel room of my own is considerably better than the den of iniquity on Joyce Road. I stayed at the Caribou until the first of March and then moved to the Pacific Motel on the 2nd, after which I moved in with that Iranian girl I sent here from Montreal. I'm still with her on 6th Avenue, but may be moving.

Before leaving Toronto, I noted my payment had been deposited in the usual manner, however, since my arrival here the local proletariat have supplied me with a car, driver, half-decent food and accommodation for which I pay nothing. I have even had the occasional bottle of "Cutty Sark". So you see, I haven't been completely deprived of my bourgeoisie tastes. In addition, I've been able to extract \$200.00 from them and having bestowed that token position on the old man from Vancouver Island, we are assured of his continued financial support. (I thought that would please you).



As we discussed, the United Front concept is making progress but some developments in Vancouver worthy of mention are:

Jack Scott continues to attack me verbally but has avoided public confrontation. His influence in New Left circles will be difficult to overcome but I still feel confident of eventually succeeding. I can't foresee any change in his political stance so may have to try discrediting him.

Randy Enomoto continues to remain non-committal. It is obvious that efforts to cultivate him over the years have been to no avail.

The Anniversary celebrations are proceeding on the 18th and 25th as planned. I anticipate a large turnout including my closest followers from the East (Orton, Scott, Hertzog, Reid, etc.). Cruise will be here too.

These two meetings should solidify my leadership position and also determine whether or not the New York conference in May will be necessary.

I have approached that individual we discussed and he appears agreeable but we'll have to take it easy and not push him. I'll arrange for you to meet him at some later time. Lang is still attempting to make contacts in Ottawa.

I apologize for the brief manner in which I have outlined my activities in Vancouver but everything is in a state of confusion with people changing addresses, etc., and present conditions are such that I find it extremely difficult to be alone. Hopefully, in April a meet can be arranged at which time I will supply a complete report. The accuracy of your predictions continue to astound me.

In conclusion, please realize that this attempted formation of the United Front and continuance of the CPC(ML) is taxing all my resources. I am experiencing periods of mental anguish at which time I feel concerned for my health. At times I feel that my interest fades and periodically doubt my ability to continue. It would be wonderful if you could arrange for me to see my daughter again. There is some consolation in that the McLatchie thing seems to have died at last.

H.

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## **Lies, Slander and Character Assassination Won't Change the Course of History**

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People's Canada Bookshop in Vancouver received a letter through the mail (see the full text, as well as the front of the envelope, reproduced in **PCDNR** April 25, 1972) on April 13, 1972. The letter was a photostat copy of the original and supposed to have been written by Comrade Bains to somebody called Sid. This letter is the handiwork of police agents who wishfully think that these sorts of slanders could sow confusion in the revolutionary ranks and liquidate revolution and damage CPC(M-L). But this will never happen.

CPC(M-L) and Comrade Bains have been slandered and vicious lies have been propagated against us for a long time, especially since the summer of 1968. But none of these slanders had any influence on the general course of events, except in bourgeois circles who felt happy that the communists were being slandered and felt that it is a good thing.

Three forces have aligned themselves to oppose us in Canada: (1) fascists, (2) social fascists, and (3) lackey police. They have been responsible for spreading rumours and gossip, distorting the correct political line, physically attacking our comrades and burning bookshops and arresting our comrades.

This alliance has further escalated its work since July, 1971. Certain individuals, calling themselves Marxist-Leninists and Québec Patriots, with the support of certain foreign residents, especially lumpen elements from Iran, have been openly providing information against our activities to police and propagating gossip and slanders against us. There are other elements who are their allies in Montreal, in Ottawa and certain other places in North America.

This letter shows how desperately the lackey police would like to infiltrate our Party and disband it. The information given in the letter is a combination of picking up names from our posters, rumours and gossip from the social fascists, especially the above-mentioned elements in Montreal, and then presenting it as if the flunkey writer is knowledgeable about our work. These police agents are quite conscious that we do have support amongst the masses and that sooner or later hundreds and thousands of Canadian people will repeat what we say and do so on a mass scale and the reactionary rule of the compradores will be replaced

by the rule of the dictatorship of the proletariat through social revolution. This scares the reactionaries and they are reduced to propagating rumours, gossip and slanders and nothing else.

To be attacked and slandered against by the enemy is a good thing and not a bad thing. If the enemy does not slander us, attack us vigorously and paint us black, then we would have reduced ourselves to their level and we would certainly worry. The enemy praises so-called Marxist-Leninist and lumpen elements in Montreal (even deportation orders have been withdrawn against certain individuals for the service rendered to our enemy by these elements) and their counterparts everywhere and presents them as “sensible and pro-people” and with glowing compliments. By viciously attacking us, the enemy has drawn clear lines between us and them and instead of causing confusion, the positive aspect is the clarification as to the nature and method of work of the enemy.

When U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon visited Ottawa, the **Globe and Mail** carried news for several days detailing the names and motives of the groups who were organising against his visit. It was noteworthy that they had no difficulty remembering the names of groups who were social fascist and police inspired, while they couldn't remember the name of CPUF, CPC(M-L) and mystified their purpose and the nature of their protest. Furthermore they did not lose the opportunity to prepare counter-revolutionary public opinion that we are “violent” (which we hope that the **Globe and Mail** remembers when violence does come and then it won't be so comfortable and easy for them to write, since hundreds and thousands of people who are being violently suppressed will certainly become violent and look after all such quislings and reactionary elements) confounding right and wrong and accusing us of being “violent” who have been violently attacked by fascists, social fascists and lackey police covering up for their class. It is no accident that the **Globe and Mail**, who can, like aristocrats, fire a reporter for siding with truth (case of Tony Seed in the winter of 1971) is mounting its counter-revolutionary propaganda at this time and the fascist letter arriving around the same time. We would suggest that this is coordinated work organised by the state machine and this work has three basic aspects:

1. Active promotion of counter-revolutionaries as so-called revolutionaries and creating gossip and slanders against genuine revolutionaries and mystifying their work;
2. Active propaganda by the state machine that CPC(M-L) is “violent” in the open, and violently suppressing them without any reports in the bourgeois press; and

### 3. Active infiltration and subversion of CPC(M-L) by police spies.

CPC(M-L) and its members and supporters are quite used to this method of work of the state machine and will certainly respond with vigour to their flimsy attacks. The Resistance Movement is already simmering and coming up again and the more the reactionaries attack us the more we will wipe them out. This pious nonsense about violence they will find out is not going to stop us from actively resisting and fighting the attacks of the reactionaries. We have every right to fight the joint attacks of (1) fascists, (2) social fascists, and (3) lackey police. In the first round (May, 1968 to December 1971, especially during the period of April 1970 to May 1971) over 150 arrests of our comrades took place in Canada alone (without Québec) and close to eighty people spent an average of three months in jail, over 14 were deported, several thousands of dollars were given in fines, four of our bookshops were violently attacked, one of the bookshops was taken over by the police agents, etc. But none of these attacks liquidated our organisation. Instead we became stronger. We were slandered all over North America as "CIA" agents - those who were financed by "CIA" agents. This short period of four years has really exposed who are the real CIA agents — those who are praised in the imperialist lackey press — those who receive money from state agencies and those whose deportation order is squashed for "good behaviour"! Currently, the RCMP and FBI are very busy finding out who is financing CPC(M-L). It is disgusting to see these policemen crawling around interrogating relatives of Comrade Bains, including his wife, so as to so-called establish how we finance ourselves and tailing for information on other activities. It is far more disgusting to see how the social fascists drool in front of their masters and provide information and participate in counter-revolutionary propaganda that there is no fascist state machine and that there is no necessity to organise underground. "I am not being harassed by police" boasted a social fascist recently and his face went yellow when it was pointed out that "We know, because you are part of the police network" and he ran away in a panic.

This recent escalation of attacks on us is bound to make us strong and weaken and degenerate the enemy further. We will certainly win this round and all the rounds which are to come. We are not afraid of the reactionary attacks! We are not afraid of the so-called Marxist-Leninists and their friends in Montreal who are in active cahoots with the police! We are not afraid of any gossip, slander or character assassination! We have no bourgeois selves to protect! We will certainly win!

**Down with the alliance of fascists, social fascists and lackey police!**  
**Long live the resolute spirit of daring to struggle and daring to win!**

A STUDY OF  
**"HOW ENGELS CRITICISED DUHRING'S APRIORISM"**  
 by Joseph Redpath

— From **People's Canada Daily News Release**  
 April 27, 1972 and April 28, 1972

*The following study of the article "How Engels Criticised Duhring's Apriorism" was written by Joseph Redpath. We reprint the study in full:*

A few days ago, a CPC(M-L) branch secretary went to hear "criticism" of the Party from a so-called labour leader and exchange views with him in a friendly manner. As soon as the so-called labour leader met the secretary, he launched a vile attack on the Party, Comrade Bains, characterized the local secretary as an "errand boy", threatened him and Party with all sorts of reprisals and blurted out in a huff: "Why don't you read the article on Duhring in **Peking Review** and stop eulogising Bains" and several other pieces of so-called "advice". The local secretary patiently listened, withstood this wild attack on the Party and Comrade Bains, humbly jotted down various hysterical outbursts of this so-called labour leader and departed.

The attack on the Party and Comrade Bains by this so-called labour leader shows the collapse of intellectualism and academism in the Marxist-Leninist circles and the beginning of emergence of a very definite proletarian revolutionary line on which the Party is being built. The study of this so-called labour leader, a revisionist professor and a rabid Afro-Asian chauvinist (he is the architect of the anti-Marxist-Leninist line that "negotiations and war form a dialectical unity of opposites"), a business woman of Chinese origin, a professor who wrote a book on China, a social chauvinist organisation and an imperialist agency with the sign-board "all nationalism is reactionary", shows that they have replaced the old revisionist and trotskyst trend and are the main anti-Marxist-Leninist trend in Canada today. They oppose building the Party, consider China some sort of superpower, and behave like lordships in dealing with the problems facing the people. As the era of dazzling others and convincing them of one's so-called Marxist-Leninist stance through intellectualisation and academism draws near its end, it is forcing those who painted themselves as great "Marxist-Leninists" to come out into the open and expose their real anti-Marxist-Leninist ugly features. It is this exposure,



which is taking place independent of man's will, which is causing the so-called labour leader to violently attack CPC(M-L). He wishfully hopes (like the others of his kind mentioned above) to hide the fact that he has reached the pinnacle of sophistry, has nothing to contribute towards the forward march of our society (except through negative example) and that he has degenerated to the level of opposing revolution.

Summing up of the actual analysis of the last four years has shown that one section of the so-called "New Left" which opposed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought had their mentors in the individuals and organisations mentioned. Now that the followers have been routed, the mentors themselves are forced to come out and show their wretched opposition to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in Canada.

In order to advance the struggle on the ideological front, I have decided to take up the advice of this so-called labour leader and do a study of the article "How Engels Criticised Duhring's Apriorism" - Notes on studying "Anti-Duhring" by Wang Che, printed in issue No. 10 of **Peking Review**, dated March 10, 1972, and reproduced in **People's Canada Daily News Release** as Item No. 900, dated April 14, 1972. I also remind this so-called labour leader to follow the advice himself and do a study which the **PCDN** staff will be all too happy to reproduce for him. It is a matter of great joy to know that this so-called labour leader does find something in **Peking Review** which is applicable to Canada. I am quite confident that as he studies the article on Duhring, and other articles previously printed, he will certainly see the reason why the Party asks all our friends to read **Peking Review** regularly.

The article by Wang Che is divided into the following four headings:

1. **Duhring — "Genius" or Swindler?**
2. **Apriori Method is an Idealist Method**
3. **Historical Development is Not Decided by Men of Genius**
4. **Scientific Socialism Emerges and Develops on the Basis of Revolutionary Practice**

We can also take up the above four headings and go ahead with our study.

### **DUHRING — "GENIUS" OR SWINDLER?**

Under this heading, Wang Che gave Engels' view on Duhring as to his method of operation, the reasons and outcome of his behaviour and the historical verdict declared on him.

Wang Che writes:

"As Engels had pointed out, Duhring and his little sect 'were using all the arts of advertisement and intrigue'. While he himself actually was a charlatan, Duhring berated others as 'charlatans'. Copying, stealing and

talking nonsense, Duhring had the cheek to repudiate others time and again as 'idiots' and 'buffooneries', as if he was the greatest genius. Using high-sounding adjectives, he pompously and shamelessly praised himself — a 'new mode of thought', 'from the ground up original conclusions and views', 'system-creating ideas', 'an all-round penetrating work of thought', 'in the grand style', and so forth. Briefly, in his eyes, everyone else was no good, other people's theories were all worthless and only his was the 'final and ultimate truth'. If that was the case, Engels said sarcastically, then **'we have before us the greatest genius of all time, the first super-human, because infallible'**, and we common human beings could only **'sink to the ground in deepest reverence before the mightiest genius of all time'**." And Wang Che explains that this attitude of Duhring and "His theoretical attack on Marxism was prepared for his sham socialism and for splitting the party organisationally," and "Not only did Bernstein become an active Duhringist, but a good comrade like Bebel was also deceived by him."

Let us look into the social practice of this so-called labour leader to grasp what he meant when he "advised" us to study this article; or should we just follow his own example and label him a Modern Duhring without doing any study or investigation which is his grand style; or turn truth on its head, shake in fear of this so-called labour leader, kneel in front of him and sing in his glory "Thank ye, the saviour of mankind, for putting us on the right path! Next time, please enlighten us in advance so that we do not commit the sin of making mistakes in future!" No, we will do no such thing! We will neither call him a modern Duhring nor cow down to his ill temper, but let the facts speak for themselves.

This so-called labour leader calls himself by that name and also by other names such as "foremost Marxist historian". His followers revere him and sigh with relief "Here is a man, at last! He knows!" He has been an active revisionist for over forty years. And he called the Internationalists "sectarians", "adventurists", "those who don't know", etc. Once, in a rage, in November 1969, after a wild attack on the Internationalists, his followers contacted us to have a "debate" with him, in order to assess "who knows more".

**"Using all the arts of advertisement and intrigue"** and we would add, "full of drama and suspense", a student newspaper carried his photograph with Chairman Mao in order to attract the audience to where he vomited his cultivated nonsense. Another pamphlet put out by his friends showed him with Chairman Mao, with a caption that he is such a knowledgeable character that he even volunteered some wisdom to Chairman Mao, who did not listen. He prides himself as being the one

who has "criticism" of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, "criticism" of China and its policies and everyone else around.

For what reason is he pursuing this anti-Marxist course? To attack Marxism, propagandize his sham socialism and subvert the building of the Party. For no other reason. He has a de novo and mechanical theory of the emergence of the Party (when there is a mass movement, there will be a Party) and a de novo and mechanical theory of socialism (socialism will be ushered in one day through a declaration, the way God delivered light).

With such resemblance to Duhring, why is he asking us to read Duhring? For the same reason Duhring would call others "charlatans" when he himself was a charlatan. This so-called labour leader is suggesting that we are doing what followers of Duhring were doing: "You are sectarians. You have nothing in common with Marxism. You are putting people off socialism."

When we look into our own social practice, we find that none of us have given any theories to oppose Marxism. None of us have opposed the building of the Party, none of us believe that the Party will be built spontaneously out of the mass movement and none of us have any illusions as to socialism falling from the skies one day. To accuse us of these crimes, which he is committing, is the only way a man like him will go.

And when we analyse the social practice of this revisionist professor, this business woman of Chinese origin, the social fascist organisations, we find that all these individual "leaders" consider themselves some kind of "geniuses". Until the time you convince them of the correct line, they will not permit their feifdom to disband and join the Party. They are centrists and oppose democratic centralism. They all cherish books and have great collections. They tell stories from books. They have made no contribution to building the Party (except by negative example) and they are bourgeois individualists of the worst kind. They won't unite with anyone to build the Party, nor will they struggle openly, and in a forthright manner. We have a majority of comrades who engaged several of them in discussions but their attitude and that of their followers is violent attacks on the Party and Comrade Bains and complete refusal to settle issues on a non-antagonistic basis and to unite. Their ideology of so-called Marxism-Leninism is a cover-up for their practice (that is, the practice of social fascism).

This habit of brandishing books at honest revolutionaries is an old revisionist trick. For some years now, the old revisionist party has been "advising" us to study **'Left'-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder.**

They are doing so because it is precisely that work of Comrade Lenin which repudiates their revisionism and parliamentary cretinism and they are waving this book in order to tell their faithfuls how loyal they are to Lenin while, in practice, they have gone against all his teachings. This so-called labour leader and other "geniuses" have not given up their old habits of waving Marxist-Leninist classics to oppose the Marxist-Leninist practice.

We are living in Canada where the overwhelming majority of people belong to the modern proletariat. Over one third of this proletariat is industrial proletariat and over eighty percent of the people are workers of one sort or another. The bourgeoisie of Canada has been a sell-out bourgeoisie by birth. They have tried to modernize the means of production to fit their needs of plunder. Because of the utter uncertainty of the capitalist system and the lack of security, and because the entire labour force is either descendants of immigrants or immigrants themselves, the proletariat of Canada is a fighting proletariat. During the nineteenth and twentieth century and in this short history of its existence it has fought many many struggles and has gained much experience. It has struggled to build its own political party, the Communist Party based on Marxism, and it has constantly struggled to overthrow the rule of the sell-out capitalists and establish a genuinely independent, democratic and prosperous Canada under its dictatorship. During the 1860's, a section of the International Workingmen's Association was established. After the October Revolution of 1917, the working people of Canada established their own Party in 1921. But all their struggles came to naught as the question of seizure of political power by armed force has yet to be resolved.

During the 1960's, when the struggle against modern revisionism broke out in the open, hundreds and thousands of Marxist-Leninists participated in the struggle led by the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour. Marxist-Leninists in Canada also participated in struggle but their "criticism" was based on pure abstract and theoretical grounds. It was merely a dogma and was, in no case, a guide to building the Party and solving various problems facing the working class. The organisation which came out of the revisionist party, in turn, divided into right opportunist and ultra-left trotskyist wings. The ultra-left trotskyist wing further split, giving rise to another social and national chauvinist organisation.

While all this was going on, the Canadian monopoly capitalist class, which was undermining the youth and students intellectually, spiritually and otherwise, faced these rebellious youth and students. A torrent of rebellious youth and students broke loose all over North America.



Canadian youth and students were in no way lagging behind. In the midst of all this turmoil arose the Internationalists. They began from practice: they dealt with problems facing the revolutionary student movement in the universities; they rebelled against the bourgeois decadent educational system; they took upon themselves to build their own organisation, sincerely hoping that all Marxist-Leninists would join to build the Party and worked hard to cooperate and unite with others in this endeavour. As the revolutionary youth and students began to march forward, they were attacked from all sides: (1) by comprador state machine on one side and (2) by the social fascists on the other. This so-called labour leader appeared onto the scene of history as a sage. He "knew" everything. He called the Internationalists "sectarians", "adventurists", "with the wrong method of work" etc.

He tried to divert as many young people from the revolutionary path as possible. He called the Canadian people "brain-dirtied", slandered the Canadian working class and characterized his attacks on the working class of a person who is not "afraid". He attacked the so-called language of **Peking Review** and pushed his counter-revolutionary line on this front: "**Peking Review** is only good for China!" He dished out his stock phrase: "We should take a critical attitude towards everything." He provided the youth and students with no guidelines of work, but introduced them to "self-cultivation". His ideas were all cultivated ideas and were not derived from revolutionary practice. For this reason, they were of no use to the revolutionary people. He used his so-called "grasp of Marxism" and "forty years in the revisionist party" as the credentials to sell his wares. Our comrades in his area were also fooled. They called him a "veteran communist", a man who helped the dissemination of Mao Tsetung Thought. During that period, only a trickster "who knows Marxism" could have fooled the revolutionary youth and students, as increasing numbers of youth were repudiating idealism and were thirsting for Marxism which could guide them. This so-called labour leader attacked any one who was serious while promoting all sorts of bad elements as "confused" but "honest" revolutionaries.

Before 1968, all across Canada, there used to be (and they are still around but seem to have lost their credence) so-called Marxist scholars. Their main purpose was to slander Marxism by calling themselves Marxists and dishing out all sorts of anti-Marxist theories. Their slogan was: "Follow anything but Marxism!" Revolutionary students thoroughly rejected them and espoused Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

After 1968, there have been so-called labour leaders who have been coming along with the same slogan: "Follow anything but Marxism!"



These so-called labour leaders have no audience in the working class, so they are swarming around the universities and they are bound to suffer the same fate as the so-called Marxist scholars in the universities.

What do these facts prove? do these facts not prove that while masses of workers, youth and students are longing to be led by a definite Marxist-Leninist political line, there have been bourgeois academics from all classes who have been coming forward to mislead them and liquidate their struggles. This is what it proves! But the revolutionary mass movement has already surpassed these bourgeois academic and left them behind in a safe place — the garbage can of history.

Are we bourgeois academics? Analysis of our social practice proves that we are far from being bourgeois academics. All the ideas we propagate are the ideas of class struggle, have come out of revolutionary practice and are useful to the people. If this is the case then why is this so-called labour leader asking us to read this article?

He is asking us to read this article for the same reason Duhring used to call others “charlatans”. To hide his charlatanism and to split the Party and to attack Marxism, Duhring called others by various names and accursed them of various crimes. This is exactly what this so-called labour leader is doing. To hide his own social practice, to mystify the social practice of others, to stop the building of the Party and to attack Marxism, he is straining to work out his anti-Marxist political and ideological lines.

If we had considered ourselves “geniuses” we would certainly have been friends with him because it seems that he is in league with all the “geniuses” who have “interpretations” on everything, have “their minds” and are not anywhere near the earth. They are not like those who “parrot phrases”, “blindly follow China” (this tune is in the process of being changed to “blindly not following China” but “following Comrade Bains”), etc. When everything is said and done, this “genius” puts his speeches on tapes and asks his fellow “geniuses” to listen to these when they are drowsy at night to soothe thier disturbed souls.

This so-called labour leader is very arrogant and has the style of those “who know!” He wildly dismisses the opinions of others. When we approached him that we should strive to build the Party, his answer was “the time is not ripe” and that was the end of that argument! When we suggest that all groups should be approached (and we do so all the time) and should agree upon basic discipline and get on with the task of building the Party instead of small groups, he stands on the sidelines and accuses us: “You are just a sect!” When we invite him to join in to build the Party, he flatters himself and spreads the rumour: “They are asking me to join them”. How nasty! And when we say that we should carry on struggle on

our differences and at least agree to that formally, he brands us as "double-dealers".

We suggest that this so-called labour leader is an anti-revisionist in words but a revisionist in deeds and is no "genius" but a political swindler. His main role is to stop the building of the Party, establish his own small sect and from there attack CPC(M-L), Canadian revolution, socialism and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It is for promoting this line of his that he is calling upon us to read this article.

### **A PRIORI METHOD IS AN IDEALIST METHOD**

Wang Che writes:

"Duhring had a full basket. ...**System of Philosophy**, mental, moral, natural and historical; ...**System of Political Economy and Socialism**; and, finally, a **Critical History of Political Economy** — three big volumes in octavo. ...But there was a question: Where did these big volumes and articles come from?

"Engels pointed out:

**'This is only giving a new twist to the old favorite ideological method, also known as the "A Priori" method, which consists in ascertaining the properties of an object by logical deduction from the concept of the object, instead of from the object itself. ...The object is then to conform to the concept, not the concept to the object. ...The philosophy of reality ... proves ... to be ... the deduction of reality not from itself but from a concept.'**"

Wang Che further explains that "Apriorism is an idealist theory of knowledge. The materialist theory of reflection holds that ideas are the reflection of objective reality, that all true knowledge originates from experience. So there is no knowledge prior to experience. Yet apriorism holds that the rational includes some 'gifted concept', 'self-understood reason', 'born principles' or logical categories, that it does not arise from experience but is innate in the mind, and that starting from these principles or categories, one can get real knowledge through logical deduction. Apriorists do not admit the dependence of conceptual knowledge upon perceptual knowledge, but think that the former is independent; they oppose proceeding from practical experience, but stand for proceeding from the rational. They do not proceed from facts to concepts but vice versa." Wang Che further dwells on this point and writes: "In criticizing apriorism, Engels incisively elaborated the principle of the materialist theory of reflection. He said that principle was not the starting point of research, but was its ultimate result, that it was not for

the objective world to adapt to principle but a principle was correct only when it conformed to the objective world. But Duhring turned things upside down." This is exactly what our so-called labour leader is doing in the same way Wang Che writes: "China's Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers tailed after Duhring. They denied practice, neglected investigation and study and advocated 'cultivation' behind closed doors. They regarded general truth as pure abstract formula out of the vacuum, and spread the fallacy that theory was the product of a genius' brain."

Our so-called labour leader does not have three volumes in octavo as Duhring had, but he has all the aspirations to acquire those. Times have changed since the time of Duhring and the world has moved forward. Our so-called labour leader is pursuing the beaten road of Duhring. He has his apriori systems: anti-Marxist-Leninist theories on (1) United front, (2) workers' struggles, (3) struggles of the youth and students, (4) Party building, (5) the International Communist Movement, and (6) the present stage of struggle in Canada and how to advance it. Where did these anti-Marxist-Leninist theories fall from? From his long-time associations with modern revisionism and from nowhere else. These are modern revisionist concepts which he is attempting to saddle the world with. He has not written a single leaflet or pamphlet which deals with the revolutionary struggle in Canada, its present stage, its historical basis and how to advance it. What he has got are a set of pet phrases and generalizations which are absolutely revisionist in content and he peddles these to build his sect.

Do we have theories which oppose Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and did we cook these up from books? No, we don't have any such theories. It is for this reason that the entire so-called Marxist-Leninists had to admit that our general political line is correct and then add "but our method is wrong", which is to say that because your general political line is correct and ours incorrect, let us not quibble on it but divert the struggle as to "method" where you are wrong. "See, now we know that you are wrong. Now, kneel here and confess, give up your political line and things will be just fine." This is the beaten road of revisionism. Can method be divorced and detached from the general political line? No, it can't be! The reason why we are opposed by this so-called labour leader (not because of our "incorrect method of work") is that when those connected with him propagate their anti-Marxist-Leninist nonsense and we oppose them, then he has difficulty in gathering his sect so he attacks: "You are putting people off socialism". As if socialism was some kind of a choice between socialism and capitalism, and not a historical stage and inevitability, which people could be turned

off from!

We started from the real world, our paractice. Our political report is the summation of this practice. Our general political orientation coincides with the general laws governing the world. We participate in class struggle in the real world. Where is the summation of his practice? Did he explain to anyone how it was that with all his "ideas", his organisation collapsed? Instead of having self-criticism and rectifying he blamed the working class and called the people "brain-dirties". Here he is fully exposed. It is crystal clear that it is because of his "ideas" that his organisation collapsed. He is not willing to look into his social practice, learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones. Instead, he becomes pious and presents himself as the man "who knows".

Has he tried to build the Party? Has he tried to unite with others? If so, what was the result of his efforts? To build the Party is consistent with the demand of the objective world. If he is a Marxist-Leninist then what happened when he tried to build the Party? What went wrong? If he answers this question, then he will be quite uncomfortable when he sends tapes of his recorded nonsense to mislead honest youth and students from the revolutionary path.

From where and how did the idea enter his brain that we were "sectarians" and that "our method of work was wrong"? Without lifting a finger himself this "genius" can tell us that we are "sectarians" and "putting people off from socialism"! Very well, sir, if you can do such things and have the divine right to do so, to say one thing and do the other, to concoct formulae to denounce others, then we have also the right to sum up the revolutionary practice and answer your attack. Our revolutionary practice shows that our organisation could withstand attacks from the bourgeois state machine, from employers and their goons, from internal subversion by police agents and social fascists, while your organisation couldn't even handle some infiltration from petty bourgeois intellectuals and sunk like a little sand castle on the beach. History will call upon you to give explanation as to what logic you used that you could deduce that we are "putting people off socialism". Those you "led" have long ago given up socialism, while our comrades have fought and are still fighting for socialism courageously. Wherever you participated in so-called advising a broad-based group, it came to no good end, while the organisations we have built and supported are flourishing.

This so-called labour leader has the arrogance to tell others how to organize the working class. Very good! But what leads him to take up this lofty task? His knowledge of the labour movement or his knowledge of the revisionist concepts in misleading the working class which is forcing

him to divert the labour movement from the revolutionary path! Did he gain real knowledge by fighting for the proletarian revolutionary line after his long sojourn with the labour movement or his knowledge is purely bookish and he is whiling away his time by telling a few stories, learnt by rote, to bourgeois kids! The real world is a witness. This so-called labour leader did not build a mass movement, neither has he a history of fighting for the proletarian revolutionary line. He has no clue as to what the proletarian revolutionary line in the working class is. The only activity he participated in was the attempt to build a neo-revisionist workers' sect and that collapsed. Then the only right he has is to try to talk about the reasons for the collapse of his organisation and no other rights. But this so-called labour leader had his photograph with Chairman Mao splashed on the front page of a student newspaper and the paper lauded him as the "labour leader" and participated in a debate with an academic hog as "labour experts" to show that he is a so-called defender of the working class. Where did the idea that he is a "labour leader" enter the heads of the student editors? It must have come from somewhere. It comes from his own classification of himself. The labour movement in Canada is yet to be built. For this reason, there can be no real labour leaders. The only real material object of a proletarian nature existing at this time is the working class propaganda centre, which has been established by us, whom this so-called labour leader calls "sectarians" and his student editor friends don't think about analysing their work, reporting about it and learning from it.

### **HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT IS NOT DECIDED BY MEN OF GENIUS**

This so-called labour leader has concocted a lie to cover up the role Comrade Bains has played in leading the development of the Internationalists and subsequent establishment of CPC(M-L). So he browbeats the local secretary: "Read the Anti-Duhring article in **Peking Review** and stop eulogising Bains." What is the connection between reading this article and "eulogising Bains"? The connection is to mystify the revolutionary paractice of Comrade Bains and the proletarian revolutionary line he followed to change the situation. To turn truth on its head and to save himself from total political extinction, he has been spreading the lie that Bains is being considered a "genius". Otherwise why would any member of CPC(M-L) have such deep respect for Comrade Bains? Let us tell this so-called labour leader why members and supporters of CPC(M-L) have deep respect for Comrade Bains. The reason is (which is very hard for the so-called labour leader to grasp) that Comrade



Bains is part of the their struggles, came out of the real struggles of the youth and students, knows one or two things as to how to establish the Party in the initial stages and shares weal and woe with them. He does not wave bookish learning and he did not use ideology to impress anyone or denounce them. Instead, he plunged into the mass movement, united with people, provided analysis and fought for its execution, changed things in the real world and won respect from his comrades and friends. Nobody considers him "genius" nor thinks that he has some inherent characteristics which give him some ideas to lead the organisation.

This so-called labour leader because he considers himself some sort of a "genius" and his arrogance is such that he would not unite unless agreements have been reached on all issues prior to any social practice, he slanders Comrade Bains and the Party insinuating that the Party also considers Comrade Bains as some kind of "genius". If this so-called labour leader had tried to organise the Party, he would have found out that the Party is not organised by men of "genius" but by the people who rise up against their class enemies. We came out of the people, make up the core of the revolutionary mass movement and are very much in the service of the people.

After concocting that Comrade Bains is being considered a "genius", he dishes out this metaphysics that "everyone follows his interpretations." For this man, reality is a matter of definition, interpretation and discussion and for this reason he is alluding that the genuine Marxist-Leninists also believe in that. His perniciousness and dogmatic anti-communism is thorough and deep. He thinks that there is one "genius" and the rest are his followers and that several hundred other comrades who are engaged in revolutionary work have no ability to analyse the real world, see the laws governing it and act accordingly. For him it is not class struggle and oppression which give rise to consciousness and motivation for revolution but some interpretation given by some "genius".

Wang Che quotes Engels: **"(to all these) socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason and justice and needs only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power. And as absolute truth is independent of time, space, and of the historical development of man, it is a mere accident when and where it is discovered."** **"If pure reason and justice have not, hitherto, ruled the world, this has been the case only because men have not rightly understood them. What was wanted was the individual man of genius, who has now arisen and who understands the truth. That he has now arisen, that the truth has now been clearly understood, is not an inevitable event, following of necessity in the chain of historical development, but a mere happy accident. He might just as**

**well have been born 500 years earlier, and might then have spared humanity 500 years of error, strife, and suffering."**

This clearly exposes the idealist conception of history and also all the friends and followers of this so-called labour leader who push the nonsense "theory first, and practice later, much later", "disunity first and unity later, much later" and a concoction of a utopian system first and changing the world later.

Wang Che writes: "A genius is no more than somewhat wiser and more talented than the others. But where do wisdom and talent come from?" They come from the real world, that is by summing up the revolutionary practice and rectifying oneself in the light of it and persisting in revolutionary practice. And this is our method of work which this so-called labour leader disagrees with. We are wiser than we were in 1963 and each year through many struggles we advanced our ability to deal with the world. But this "genius" went down hill. If one reads his publication from November 1964 to when it collapsed in 1969-70, there is a steady degeneration which goes to show that this man refused to have self-criticism on the basis of practice, believes in abstractions and dogmas and as the world moves forward his abstractions become increasingly useless (which they were in the first place).

### **SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM EMERGES AND ADVANCES ON THE BASIS OF REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE**

Wang Che writes: "Man's practice is a process of continuous development and will never be ended; so is man's knowledge." "Everyone's knowledge is limited by subjective and objective conditions and therefore cannot be of unconditional and paramount significance." "Lui Shao-chi and swindlers like him kept changing their tactics in opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. At first, they described Marxism-Leninism in absolute terms and negated the fact that Mao Tsetung Thought is a development of Marxism-Leninism. After this tactic had failed, they in turn tried to make Mao Tsetung Thought absolute and denied the fact that Mao Tsetung Thought can develop continuously."

These three quotations from Wang Che totally expose this so-called labour leader.

"Man's practice is a process of continuous development..." and if this is the case then what developments have taken place since March 1963? If he answers this then he will find that one decisive development which has taken place is that CPC(M-L) has emerged on the scene while his organisation has passed away and that this fact is indicative of the future

trends in Canada.

“Everyone’s knowledge is limited...” which means that we have advanced through revolutionary practice our grasp of the real world and our knowledge of the world has increased. Gone are the days when this so-called labour leader could peddle his reactionary dogmas to starry-eyed youngsters who would sit around and listen to him about the world without any clue as to

1. The basis of change, development and motion in the society,
2. The role of consciousness in history and
3. The relationship of the superstructure to the economic base and still less as to how to change the situation. Our knowledge, though still limited, has moved to the extent that we recognise this revisionist hidden under the sign-board of “anti-revisionism” and could change the situation to the extent of having a working class propaganda centre.

The so-called labour leader is like Liu Shao-chi who first described Marxism-Leninism in absolute terms — this kept him going for a few years. Now he is describing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in absolute terms which may keep him going for a few more years. But the days of doing such things and getting away with it are rapidly passing away and the new era of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is being ushered in all over the world. His design of setting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought against revolution and making it a fetter instead of a tool of revolution will never work. If he thinks that the revolutionary practice of nine years of our work, the practice of literally hundreds and thousands of other fighters and the practice of millions upon millions of revolutionary people in the world can just be mystified through his concoctions then he is a bigger “genius” than we had surmised he is.

But revolutionary practice can never end. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will keep on developing. An era without revolution can never come. If he thinks that bourgeois individualism will have currency in the Marxist-Leninist circles, then we tell him once and for all: **this will never happen!**

We are glad that this so-called labour leader has asked us to study this article. We would like to tell him that **Peking Review, the Red Book, five articles** by Chairman Mao and our own literature is a most reliable guide to revolutionary practice and a very necessary ingredient. It may do him some good if he studies these works as a guide to the summation of his own work and test if it moves him from utter stagnation to revolutionary practice.

We would like to also let him know that our Party is run by those who

consider the monopoly capitalist class as their enemy and that class negates them in practice. Those who do not feel negation of this kind can never know what it is to be a fighter and what does it mean to belong to the modern proletariat. **By negating the negators we become proletarians and not by picking up the beaten road of their philosophers!**

**Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!**

**Down with all political swindlers!**

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